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INDRA-CULT *VERSUS* KṚṢṆA-CULT

By O. C. GANGOLY

A systematic historical survey of the multitudinous Indian Cults, Beliefs, and forms of Worship, parallel to Furnivall's the Cults of the Greek States, has been a long-felt necessity to recover the many lost pages of Indian Culture. During the course of ages, numerous Cults—Primitive, Pre-Aryan, and Non-Aryan,—have come into existence—and after a period of flourish—have been discarded or replaced by a new cult, or assimilated and amalgamated into a more robust form of Belief and System of Worship. Following the principles of biology—a weaker cult has very often been " eaten " up by a stronger form of belief and has richly contributed to the growth and development of the latter. The history of Indian Culture—is strewn with illustrations of this phenomenon of which we propose to study a typical example, in this paper.

Sylvian Lévi, in his famous paper in *Journal Asiatique*, demonstrated that before the Worship of the Image of the Buddha was established—there was a wide-spread Worship of the animistic godlings—the Yakṣas, strewn over the whole of Northern India. And as it was a firmly established popular form of belief it could not be uprooted or exterminated,—it was therefore accepted and

tolerated by the Buddhists and subordinated to and amalgamated with the Cult of the Buddha. We find, therefore, in the early Buddhist monuments at Bharhut, Sanchi, and Amaravati, an array of Yakṣas—no longer worshipped as independent gods—but placed and posed as subordinate deities, now deposed from their ancient pedestals, and functioning as humble Dvārapālas or Guardians of Buddhist Shrines, themselves converted to the Worship of the Buddha, as illustrated in their typical poses—with joint palms—rendering their homage to the new god, as we find them standing in their stately and mysterious gestures decorating the upright pillars of Bharhut and Sanchi. The Jātakas and other Buddhist Legends—are full of references to the conversion of many malignant types of Yakṣas in consequence of the teaching of the Tathāgata. Here the cult of the Yakṣas was not replaced by the Cult of the Buddha but was assimilated with it. Far from discouraging the populace in their ancient habit of worship of the Yaksas, the Buddha—generously encouraged them in the continuance of the Cult of the Yakṣas.

The queer and uncouth Images—current in the Cults of the primitive Śabaras, were accepted and assimilated to Vaiṣṇava forms of beliefs—and were given places of honour inside the temple of Jagannāth at Puri. Some primitive Snake-goddess now survives in the Image of the Manasā-Devî and receives the respectable homage of various sects of Hindus. By identical processess of assimilation and amalgamation hundreds of-non-aryan gods and godlings—have been tolerated as primitive village deities (grāma-devatās) and, in many cases, honoured by assigning a place in the heirarchy of the formidable Indian Pantheon, which has grown and grown—by assimilating hundreds of ancient pre-Aryan Gods. An old Dravidian War-god, still recognized as Āyyanār has been amalgamated and

identified with the Orthodox Hindu Pauranic God—Skandha, Subramaṇya, or Kārtikeya—the illustrious son of Śiva and Pārvatī. Before Āyyanār was placed on the platform of the Hindu pantheon, the god had for his consort—a non-Aryan goddess—now transformed under the Aryan name of Vallīra-mayī; so that while the Northern Skanda has only one wife—Deva-senā,—in the Southern pantheon—he has two (1) Deva-senā and (2) Vallīra-mayī. The Javanese—an ancient Malayo-Polynesian race, having a primitive culture of its own, used to worship a Forest spirit—which has now been amalgamated with the cult of the Kīrti-Mukha—a typical Śaivaite demon, the strange history of which is recorded in the *Skanda-purāṇa*. In fact, the form of the Glory-Face, is a pan-Asiatic form, widely known and used in Chinese culture under the title—T'ao-'Tie, many thousand years before its adoption into the family of the Hindu pantheon.

Enough illustrations have been cited in support of our contention that numerous earlier cults having independant life of their own have given place to, or been assimilated with, later cults, merging their independence with newer cults, coming into existence—with superior strength and vitality. A systematic survey of the history of these cults, by revealing the processes of their transformation—is likely to be of intense interest— to the students of Indian culture—and of the continent of that Grand Synthesis—now labelled as Hinduism.

The above remarks will help to explain the subject of this paper—the cult worship of Indra and its substitution by a new cult dedicated to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

Indra, the greatest God of the Ṛg-veda, is the subject of at least 250 hymns, and it is well known that apart from the homage he received from the Vedic worshippers, he became the centre of a special cult, which continued in a popular form right up to historical periods.

An Indra Festival (Indra-Yātrā) in which an Indra-Dhvaja, a Pole bearing an image of Indra was exhibited—is clearly suggested in a passage in the Ṛg-Veda[1] : *Brahmaṇas tvā Śatakrata udvaṁśam iva yemire*—" Worshippers held thee aloft as if it were on a Pole." This plainly suggests that a festival of Indra, connected with his worship—had developed from the time of *Ṛg-Veda*. In connection with this cult, a pageant or mystery-play—appears to have been observed—in which 'Indra slaying the Demon Vṛtra' appears to have been represented. In connection with this pantomime—either some forms of Images of Indra or his effigy—were available for sale or on loan. This seems to be suggested by the well known passage.[2] '*Ka imaṁ daśabhir mamendraṁ kriṇāti dhenubhiḥ, yadā Vṛtrāṇi jaṁghant athainaṁ me punar dadhāti*' (who will buy this Indra of mine with ten kines, and after the Vṛtras have been slain, the same should be returned to me).

The ceremony of carrying an Indra-dhvaja—in connection with a Festival of Indra—was a very well known observance—which passed into well-recognised traditions—which are referred to in several passages in the works of Kālidāsa: (1) "*Puruhuta dhvajasyeva nananduḥ Saprajāḥ prajāḥ*," (2) "*Indra-dhvaja ivotthitaḥ*."

That the Indra Cult had penetrated into the south—the homeland of Dravidian Culture is proved by numerous references in early Tamil Literature (*Nedu-nalvadai*, I, 101). The yearly Indra-Pūjā, as current in the South, is referred to in various texts and inscriptions. In celebrating the yearly Festival in honour of Indra, the Chola King Killi Valvan is reported to have announced with the beat of drums his directions: "Arrange Ye! in front of your houses lamps borne by Statues." This shows that Ir

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[1] I 10 1 XIX 1 :

[2] *Ṛg-Veda*, IV, 24, 10.

dra-Pūjā was a popular festival, celebrated with much pomp and pageantry. Numerous passages in the *Śilappādhikaraṃ*, the great Tamil Epic also bear out the custom for celebrating the cult of Indra. That the Indra-Pūjā was a well established popular cult, surviving in all parts of Northern India—right upto the 1st or second century A.D.—is proved by many references in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. In fact, it came in conflict—with the new cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa—which a tribe of Āhīras, said to have been a non-Aryan race,—began to develop, for the first time,—in Vṛndāvana—a village near Mathura. Before Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu—the God was a tribal God—worshipped only by the Āhīras—a pastoral and cowherd tribe.

The Āhīras appear to have been originally a nomadic people. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, " These Āhīras occupied the tract of country from Madhuvana near Mathura to Anupa and Anarta, the regions about Dvārakā (*Harivaṁśa* 5161—5163). The Āhīras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata[3] as having attacked Arjuna who was carrying the women of Vṛṣnis from Dwārakā to Kurukṣetra, after the extinction of the male members of the Vṛṣṇi race. They are described as robbers and Mlecchas and lived near Pañcanada, which is probably the Punjab. The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* locates them near the Aparāntas (Konkan) and Saurāṣṭras, and Varāha-mihira assigns them nearly the same position. Though they are mentioned as a Southern people[4] and as living in the South West[5], the Ābhīras must have migrated in large hordes into the country. They were at first mere nomads and afterwards settled in the country from about the eastern confines of the Punjab to the vicinity of Mathura and in

[3] (Mauśalaparvan, Ch. 7).
[4] (*Br. S.* 14. 12).
[5] (*Br. S.* 14 18).

the south up to Saurāṣṭra or Kathiāvad, and they must have occupied the whole of Rajputana and a tract to the north-east of it. After they were settled they took to various occupations, one of which was of course the old one, namely the tending of cows[6]. Any how they began to develop and preach the cult of Kṛṣṇa about the beginning of the Christian Era. Apparently, this new cult was a non-Vedic and non-Aryan cult—for Kṛṣṇa finds no mention whatsoever in the Vedas, though there is a reference to a God called Vishṇu—of a status much lower than that of Indra. It is believed that the identification of the Viṣṇu-cult with that of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva—is a later development. The Cult of Kṛṣṇa—is not even fully established in the *Mahābhārata*. Thus, in the *Anugītā* portion of the Aśvamedha-parvan[7], the sage Utaṅka is represented as pronouncing a curse on Kṛṣṇa, as if he was an ordinary individual, and desists only when his universal form (*Virāṭa Svarūpaṁ*) is revealed to him. In the Sabhā-parvan[8], Śiśupāla delights in flagrant effrontery in traducing Kṛṣṇa and his so-called valorous deeds. Similarly, in many passages Kṛṣṇa's divinity is denied; and Sañjaya and Bhīṣma make strenous efforts to establish his divinity.

According to R. G. Bhandarkar: "Between the period of the Bhagavad Gîtā and that of the Anugîtā the identity of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu had become an established fact." In the *Mahābhārata* in the genuine portions (before they were inter-polated and dished up in the Southern recension)—the lîlās of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula are not enumerated. He does not figure very much as a tenderer of cows. In fact his name Govinda—is interpreted

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[6] (*Vaishnavism, Saivaism, and Minor Religious Systems*', 1913, p. 37),

[7] (ch. 53-55).

[8] (ch. 41).

not as a ' tender of cows '—but differently. In the Sabhā-parva, Vāsudeva says: " I am called Govinda by the gods, because formerly I found the earth which was lost and lodged in a den." In fact, Govinda is used in the *Ṛg-Veda* as an epithet of Indra in the sense of ' the finder of the cows. As Bhandarkar points out ' This epithet, as another, Keśî-niṣūdana, which is also applicable to Indra, must have been transferred to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, when he came to be looked upon as the Chief God,"—that is to say, after the old cult of Indra was superceded by the new cult of Kṛṣṇa.

Evidences have not always survived of the processes by which new cults have displaced and obliterated older cults. Fortunately, we have some curious records of the substitution of the cult of Indra by that of Kṛṣṇa.

This record is in the form of very picturesque and dramatic details given in anecdotes in several purāṇas of which the earliest—is the *Harivaṁśa*, datable about the beginning of the Christian Era.

In the Viṣṇu-parvan of the Harivaṁśa[9] believed to be a supplement to the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa challenges the utility of observing the old Festival in honour of Indra, still practised by the shepherd-tribes of Vṛndāvan. An old tribesman explains to Kṛṣṇa, why Indra, as the giver of rains, is worshipped by the cowherd tribes. The logic was simple. The rains make the grass grow. and the crops to flourish to feed men and animals[10]. Since the rains help the growth of the grass--the food of the cattle—therefore the Giver of Rain (Indra) is celebrated in a Festival by the herdsmen as well as by others:

(*Yasmāt prāviḍiyaṃ Kṛṣṇa Śakrasya bhuvi bhārinī*
Tasmāt prāvṛṣi rājānaḥ sarve Śakraṃ mudā yutāḥ

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[9] (ch. 15 to 18 m).
[10] (ch. 15 verses 8 to 12).

Mahaiḥ sureśamarccantī vayamanye ca mānavāḥ,[11]

Kṛṣṇa pleads for a worship of the Hills and the Woods—which are the grazing grounds for the cattle. "We should worship that gives us benefits and bounties".[12]

Kṛṣṇa therefore initiates—a new form of worship—*giri-yajña*, a sacrifice in honour of the Wooded Hill Govardhana (*Śivāya gāvaḥ pūjyan-tam giri-yajñaḥ pravarttyatāṃ*), silencing all oppositions by force (*Kārayaiṣyāmi Giri-yajñaṃ valādapi na saṃsayaḥ*). The new sacrifice and festival to honour the King of the Hills—are then celebrated under the direction of Kṛṣṇa—with plenty of gifts and rituals, terminating in a picturesque circumambulation of the Hill described with many piquant details.[13]

Indra was enraged at this insult offered to his own Festival, and called upon his retainers (the Sāmvartaka gaṇas) to punish the cowherds of Vṛndāvan misled by Dāmoḍara (Kṛṣṇa)—by an assault of Rain and Storm as punishment for dishonouring the Festival of Indra. And he declared that he was himself coming down on his mount Airāvata and create furious shower of rain, storm and thunder.[14]

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[11] (verse 19, ch. XV).

[12] (*Śaiva pūjyārccaniyā ca śaiva tasyopa-kariṇi*,—verse 4, ch. XVI).

[13] (ch. XVI).

([14]) *Mahe pratihate Śakraḥ sakrodhastridaśeśvaraḥ*
Sāmvarttakaṁ nāma gaṇaṃ toya-dānamathāvrabīt || 1
Bho Valāhaka-mātangāḥ śrūyatāṃ mama bhāṣitaṁ
Yadi vo mat-priyaṁ kāryyaṁ rāja-bhakti-puraṣkritaṁ || 2
Ete Vṛndāvana-gatā Dāmodara-parāyāṇaḥ
Nanda-gopādayo gopā vid-viṣanti mamotsavaṁ || 3
Ājivo yaḥ parasteṣāṁ gopatvamca yataḥ smritaṁ
Tā gāvaḥ sapta-rātrena pīdyantāṁ varṣa-mārutaiḥ || 4
Airāvata gatascāhaṃ swayamevāmvudāruṇaṁ
Srakṣyāmi vṛṣṭiṁ vātañca vajrāśani-sama-prabhaṁ || 5
—*Harivaṁśa*, Chapter XVIII.

Having thought out his plan, Kṛṣṇa displayed his mighty energy—and facing the Hill—uprooted the same, overshadowed by the clouds, and held it aloft by his right hand, and when raised—it provided a cover, very like a house-top, and looked like a house. The effect of the upheaval with the rubbles and pebbles flying about, and the trees uprooted, dropping in all directions, and the startled inactivity of the birds perching on the trees—is described in several verses, with many realistic details.[15]

The visual transformation of the hill, when it was held aloft—by the pillar of His arm—is set forth with lot of poetical imagery. As the profuse sheets of rain descended on the Hill from the clouds, it looked like the city of Tripura, petrified by the Assault of Rudra, and the Hill spread out like an Umbrella, coloured by the blue clouds, and the Hill slept on the arm of Kṛṣṇa, the eyes of the caves—shutting down under the shades of the clouds.[16]

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(15) *Evaṁ sa cintayitvā tu Kṛṣṇaḥ satya-parākramaḥ*
Vāhor Vvalaṁ darśayiṣyan samīpaṁ taṁ mahīdharaṁ || 30
Dorbhyām utpāṭayā-māsa Kṛṣṇo gir giririvācalaḥ
Sa dhṛtaḥ sangato meghair-giriḥ savyena pāṇina
Gṛha-bhāvaṁ gatastatra gṛhā-kāreṇa varccasā || 31
Bhumerut-pāṭya-mānasya tasya śailasya sānuṣu
Silāḥ pra-śithilāś-celur-viniṣpetuśca pādapāḥ || 32
Śikharair-ghūrṇa-mānaisca sidamānaiśca pādapaiḥ
Vidhūtaiścocchritaḥ śṛngairagumaḥ khagamo' bhavat ||33
Calat prasravanaiḥ pārśvair meghou ghaireketāṁ gataiḥ
Bhidya-mānāśma-nicayaś-cacāla dharaṇi-dharaḥ | 34
Na meghānām prabriṣṭānām na sailasyāśma-varṣinaḥ
Vividuste janā rūpam vayostasya ca garjjataḥ||35
Meghaiḥ sa-śaila-saṁsthānair-nīlaiḥ prasravaṇār-pitaiḥ
Miśrī-kṛta ibābhāti giri-duddāma-varha-vān||36
—*Harivaṁśa*, Ch. XVIII.

(16) *Anti-briṣṭasya tair-meghaistasya rūpaṁ vabhuva ha*
Stambhitasyeva Rudreṇa Tripurasya vihāya si || 45
Vahūdaṇḍena Kṛṣṇasya vidṛtaṃ sumahattadā
Nīlābhra-paṭalā-cchannaṃ tad-giri-craccatramā vubhau || 46
Svapnāyamāno jaladair-nimilīta-guhā-mukhaḥ
Vāhūpadhāne Kṛṣasya prasupta iva khe giriḥ ||47
—*Harivaṁśa* Ch. 18th

In this way, though Indra rained down his vengeance for seven days and seven nights—his attempts to do any injury to the population by punishing agents proved futile. Then the clouds blew away—and the sun shone forth again. And then the cows went back to their home on the paths they had come, and Kṛṣṇa also set down on the earth—the Hill he held aloft—for the protection of the cattle.

On the principle—that a defeat leads to admiration, Indra, after having watched the miracle of the lifting of Govardhana—and the saving of the cattle,—became desirous of seeing Kṛṣṇa and of paying his respects to him. So mounting on his Airāvata, he came down on the earth—and paid profuse tributes to the Lord as he worshipped him—with appropriate prayers.[17] This defeat of Indra and his ignominious descent from his high pedestal of Vedic times won for Kṛṣṇa a new name of 'the Queller of Indra,' which though not met with in pauraṇic literature, has a curious record in the verses of a poet, Śrinātha Bhaṭṭa, court-poet of Allada Reddi (17th Century) of Rajamundri, who in his *Kāsî-khaṇḍaṁ* refers to the image of Madana-Gopala in the following lines: "That in the fort of the city of Raja Maḫendri, Madana Gopāla, the *Queller of the Pride of Indra.*—*Bala-bhedī Gopāla-mūrti*—has manifested himself "[18]

(17) *Dhṛtaṁ Govardhanaṁ dṛṣṭvā paritrātaṁ ca Gokulam*
Kṛṣṇasya darśanaṁ Śakro rocayāmāsa vismitaḥ || 1
Sa nirjalāmbudākāraṁ mattaṁ mada-jalo-kṣitaṁ
Aṛuhyairāvataṁ nāgamājagāma mahītalaṁ || (2)
Kṛṣṇa Kṣṛṇa mahāvāho jñātīnāṁ nandi-vardhanaḥ
Ati-divyaṁ kṛtaṁ karmma tvayā prītamatā gavāṁ (13)
Mayotsṛṣṭeṣu megheṣu yugantāvarta-kāriṣu
Yat tvayā rakṣitā gāvastenāsmi paritoṣitaḥ. || 14
—*Harivaṁśa*, Ch. XIX

(18) Quoted in History of Raja Mundry," J. A. H. R. S. Vol. III.



Fig. A.—

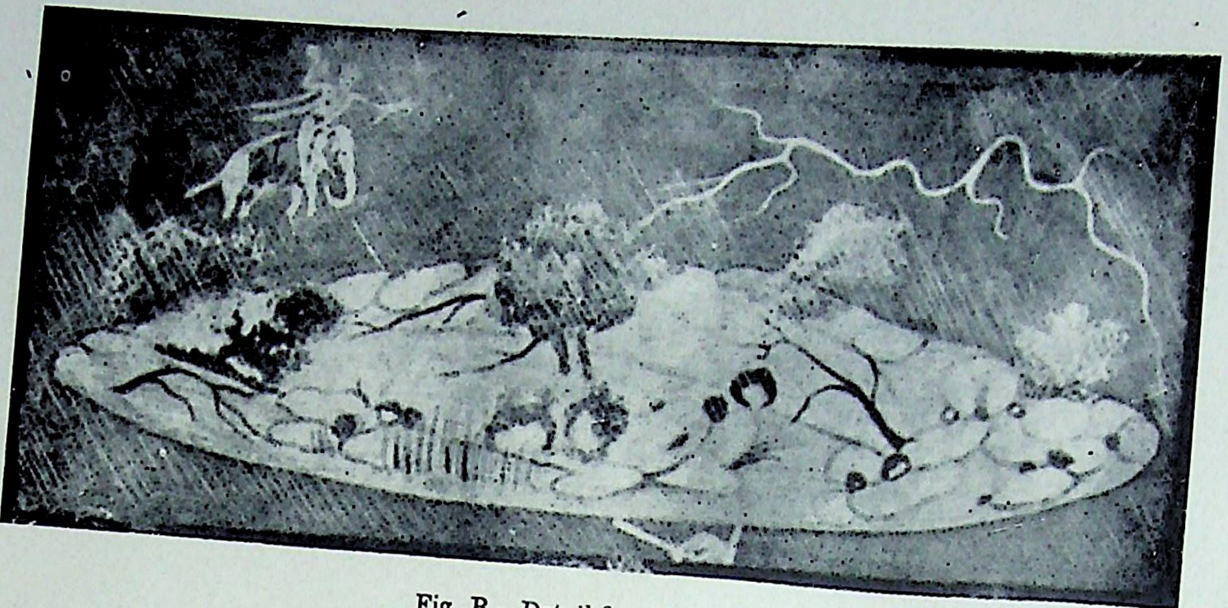


Fig. B.—Detail from Fig. A.



Fig. C.—

We have made liberal quotations from the text of *Harivaṁśa* and propose to cite other verses describing the anecdote—as given—in other and later purāṇas.

The purāṇas are seldom read for the purpose of appreciating their poetic skill or tasting their poetical flavour—and their fine realistic and imaginative power of narration—and their power of visualizing legendary scenes—with remarkable realism and vividness. These qualities of the verses, cited from the *Harivaṁśa* will become significant—if we study a Pictorial Master-piece of the Kangra School—which illustrates the theme and read the poetical parallels—as commentary on the pictorial version (see fig. A and Fig. B). In fig. B. a detail of the top of the picture is shown and which deserves an attentive study. It will be seen that many passages in the text quoted above—have been vividly translated by the artist—in his pictorial version of the legend. We find on the Fig. B.—a brilliant presentation of the narration—Indra riding on his Airāvata—and leading his army of clouds to pour down incessant arrows of rain, and we notice the effect of the stormy assaults on the agitated groups of trees, swaying hither and thither—and being uprooted by the impact of the terrible gales. All these little details in the picture appear to follow the text with faithful accuracy. In fact—the piece of landscape—that the artist is led to depict—in illustrating the theme—is a veritable masterpiece of verve and realism, and contradicts the popular belief—that Indian art did not develop any branch of Landscape-painting.

But we are disgressing.

The romantic anecdote of the Giri-Govardhan-Dhāraṇa—ends with the submissive apology of Indra—who recognizes Kṛṣṇa as a Supreme Diety and renders his homage to this new God—as the only supreme God—

'*ekas-tvamasi devānaṁ lokānāñca sanātanaḥ*'[19] so that, the deification of the tribal God of the Āhīrs of Vṛndāvana—as a supreme diety—is now a *fait accompli*; the new Kṛṣṇa-cult now over-rides the Indra-cult.

In order to complete our citations of Pictorial Illustrations to this heroic exploit, we reproduce here a line drawing of the terminating scene—namely the Worship of Kṛṣṇa by Indra. We have not been able to cite any picture of this incident from the Kangra School. But we are able to cite an illustration of the incident from the page of a palm-leaf Ms. from Orissa—datable about the 18th century. (Fig. C).

So far as we know, the earliest version of the establishment of the Kṛṣṇa-cult, superceding the Indra-cult is that of the *Harivaṁśa* (c. 1st century A.D.).

The next version is that of the *Bramha—Vaivarta Purāṇa*[20]. Here the legend is set forth with considerable dramatic art and expositive skill through a series of animated dialogues between Nanda and Kṛṣṇa—who ridicules the assertion of Nanda—that Indra, as the Giver of Profuse Rains (*Suvṛṣṭi sādhanī*) has been receiving the homage of the population of Vraja--from generation to generation,[21] as a well deserved tribute.

In the role of a partisan advocate, Kṛṣṇa denies the validity of the Vedic tradition of Indra-Worship. In the meantime, Indra, enraged at the news, came down from

(19) (*Harivaṁśa*, Ch. XIX. Verse 21)

(20) (Chapter XXI).

(21) *Paurvāpariyam pūjeti Mahendrasya Mahātmanaḥ*
Su-vṛṣṭi-sādhani sādhyam sarva-śasyaṁ manoharaṁ |
Śasyānī jīvinām prāṇaḥ śasyājjīvanti jīvinaḥ || (99)
Pūjayanti Vrajasthāśca Mahendraṁ puruṣa-kramāt
Mahotsavaṁ vatsarānte nirvighnāya Śivāya ca || (100)

Kṛṣṇa says :
Aho śrutaṁ vicitraṁ te vacanaṁ paramādbhūtaṁ
Upahāsyaṁ loka-śāstre Vede-vera vigarhitaṁ || (102)
Nirūpaṇaṁ nāsti kutra śakrāt vṛṣtiḥ prajāyate
Apūrvaṁ nīti-vacanaṁ śrutamedaṁ mukhāt tava (103)
—Ch. 21st.

heaven, accompanied by his army. and the heavens shook with the wrath of Indra, and Nanda, in mighty terror began to pray to the Rain-God to appease him. Kṛṣṇa rebuked Nanda and asked him to bring all the cattle inside the caves of the Hill and to stay there without fear. Then he held up the Hill on his left hand, as on a pillar. And under the protection of the elevated hill—all the rain and storm failed to touch the population below.

Indra, discomfited by this strategy, resorted to his Invincible Thunderbolt, made of the bones of Dadhīci of magic virtues. But Kṛṣṇa laughed at this movement and, by his magic,—petrified the function of the Vajra and put everybody to sleep including Indra[22]

Then everybody—as if in a dream—saw the vision of *Kṛṣṇa overshadowing all the Universe* (*sarvaṃ Kṛṣṇa-mayaṁ jagat*). After this beautiful vision of Kṛṣṇa seated in all his majesty on his jewelled throne, with yel-

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(22) Kṛṣṇa said:—

Gāśca vatsāśca vālānśca yoṣito vā bhayāturāḥ
Govardhanasya kuhare samsthāpya tiṣṭha nirbhayaṁ || 162
Vālasya vacanaṁ śrutvā tacoakāra mudhānvitaḥ
Hariddadhāra śailaṁ taṁ vāmahastena daṇḍavat || 163
Etasmin-nantare tatra dipte'ti ratna-tejasā
Anahi-bhūtam ca sahasā vabhūva rajasākṛtaṁ || 164
Sa-vāta-megha-nikaraiścaccāda gaganaṁ mune
Vṛndāvane vabhūvāti-vṛṣṭirera nirantaraṁ || 165
Śilāvṛṣṭir-vajra-vṛṣti-rulkā-pātaḥ sudāruṇaḥ
Samastaṁ parvvata-sparśāt patitaṁ dūratastataḥ ||166
Niṣphalas-tat samārambho yathāniśodyamo mune .
Dṛṣṭvā moghaṁ ca tat sarvvaṁ sadyaḥ Ṣakraścukopa ha||167
Jagrāḥāmogha-kuliśaṁ Dadhīce-rasthi-nirmitaṁ
Dṛṣṭyā taṁ vajrahastaṇca jahāsa Madhusūdanaḥ || 168
Samastaṁ stambhayāsā vajra-mevāti dāruṇaṁ
Mahāmarut-gaṇaṁ meghaṁ cakāra stambhanaṁ vibhuḥ || 169
Sarve tasthuṛ-niścalānte bhittau puttalikā yathā
Hariṇā sribhitaḥ Śakra Sadyastandrāmavāpa ha || (170)
Dadarśa sarvvam tandrāyāṁ tatra Kṛṣṇa-mayaṁ jagat
Dvi-bhujaṁ muralī-hastaṁ ratnālaṅkāra-bhūṣitaṁ || 171
Pīta-vastra parīdhānaṁ ratna-simhāsana-sthitaṁ
Iṣaddhāsya-prasannāsyaṁ vaktānugra-kātaraṁ ||172
—***Bramha-Vaivarta-Purāṇa***

low robes, and all manner of jewels—posing with the Flute in both hands, Indra automatically broke into a prayer of Kṛṣṇa—as "*Akṣayaṁ paramaṁ Bramha jyotirūpaṁ sanātanaṁ.*" And Kṛṣṇa, pleased with his prayer —blessed Indra with boons—and replaced the Hill on the earth. From that time every body accepted Kṛṣṇa as the full-fledged divinity of All-powerful virtues (*Te sarve menire Kṛṣṇaṁ paripuraṇatamaṁ vibhuṁ*).

Next in order of time. comes the version of the Viṣṇupurāṇa[23] recorded through the lips of parāśara. Here, the details of the legend are less picturesque or poetic. Being informed that his Cult and Festival have been insulted, Śakra flew into a rage (*mahe pratihate Śakro Maitreyāti-ruṣāṇvitaḥ*), and called upon the clouds " to assault the herds of cattle by pouring down incessant rains, as Nanda Gopa, in association with the other herdsmen, had the effrontery of rejecting my Festival, under the inspiration and protection of Kṛṣṇa. I am also coming to your rescue, mounting on the Elephant, high like the height of the Hills, and will rain down wind and rain." Indra having given his orders, the clouds poured forth terrible storms on the cows.[24]

Swch punitive steps having been taken by Indra to punish the insult to his cult, Kṛṣṇa contemplated how he should save the whole pasture of cattle, and decided:—" I will uproot this whole hill, studded with trees and pebbles and hold it aloft like an umbrella over the heads of the cattle." Parāśara says: Having thought on this idea

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(23) Ch. 21 pt. V.

(24) *Nanda-gopaḥ sudur-vuddhir-gopairanyaiḥ sahāghavāi*
Kṛṣṇāśraya-valādhmāto maha-bhangamacīkarat || 3
Ājīvo yaḥ parasteṣāṁ yaśca gopatva-kāraṇaṁ
Tā gavo vriṣṭi-pātena pīḍyantāṃ vacanān mama || 4
Ahamāpyādri-sṛṅgābhaṃ tunga-māruhya vāraṇaṁ
Sāhāyyaṁ vaḥ kariṣyāmi vāryyamvut-sarga-yojitaṃ || 5
Ityājnaptāḥ surenderena mumucuste valāhakāḥ
Vāta-varṣaṁ mahā-bhīma-mabhāvāya gavāṁ dvija || 6
—*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, Ch. XXI, pt. V.

Kṛṣṇa, uprooted the Hill Govardhana and held it aloft on one arm—as if, at play, and he called upon the herdsmen to come quickly under the protection of the canopy—as he had devised to ward off the rain. And he held aloft the hill for seven nights through which the great clouds poured down on Gokula, and all the herdsmen and the maids—looked at the miracle—with widened eyes of wonder, and sent up prayers to honour Kṛṣṇa.[25]

Kṛṣṇa having saved the inhabitants of Gokula by holding aloft the Great Hill, Indra's resolution was baffled and he called back his clouds, and everybody went back to their own abodes, coming out of Gokula, with surprise and wonder in their faces—and Kṛṣṇa released and set down the Great Hill.[26]

Then followed the submission of Indra's cult to the newly established Cult of Kṛṣṇa. Indra came down from his elephant, with all the paraphernalia of worship, and rendered his homage to Kṛṣṇa—by the respectful solemnity of abhiṣeka with sacred waters,[27] and he declared that henceforth Kṛṣṇa shall be the God par *excellance* of the cows and the cowherds (*Govindatvām bhaviṣyati*).

The next version of the Legend—is that of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*.[28]

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(25) "*Gong-gopī-janair-hṛstaih prīti-vistāriteksaṇaiḥ*
Saṁstuyamāna-caritaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ śaila madhārayat || 20
Sapta-rātraṁ mahāmeghā vavarṣu-nanda-Gokule"

(26) "*Tato dhṛta mahāśaile paritrāte ca Gokule*
Mithyā-pratijño valabhit vārayamāsa tān ghanān || 23
Vyābhre navasi devendre vitathātma-vacasya ca
Niṣkramya Gokulaṁ sarvvaṁ sva-sthāne punarāgamat || 4
Mumoca Kṛṣṇo'pi tadā Govardhana mahācalaṁ
Sva-sthāne vismita-mukhair dṛṣṭas-tais-tu rajokasaiḥ || 25
—*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, Ch. 21.
(Daśama Skanda, ch. 24 and 25)

(27) *Sa tvām Kṛṣṇābhisekṣyāmi gāvam vākya-pracoditaḥ*
Upendratve gavāmindro Govindatvaṁ bhaviṣyasi || 12
Athopa-vāhyādādāya ghantā mairāvatāt gajāt
Abhiṣekaṁ tayā cakre pavitra jala-pūraṇayā. || 13
—*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, ch. XXII.

(28) Daśama Skandh, Ch. 24 and 25.

The story begins with the challenge of Kṛṣṇa enquiring of the utility of the Indra-Yajna—when the cowherds were about to begin the Festival. Nanda, answers his query : ' The Rain-God is Indra Himself, and the clouds are his incarnation as they rain down water, which provides life for all beings. To worship him has been the practice from time immemorial, and to abandon this righteous ritual, would not be proper. Kṛṣṇa expostulates with Nanda, with a long harrangue—pointing out that the created beings are born of their *Karma*, and earn misery and happiness—according to the dynamics of their own actions, and that the rains come as a matter of course, from natural causes—what can Indra do?

He then advised the initiation of a Festival to honour the Hill Govardhana, with full oblations, rites, and presents—terminating in a solemn circum-ambulation of the Hill. They followed his advice, and having brought sacred presents performed the new Festival, with gifts of cows—and ended with a procession round the hills.[29] Pleased with the oblation Kṛṣṇa assumed a gigantic form —to impersonate the God of the Hill. Indra enraged at

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(29) "*Karmaṇā jāyate jantuḥ karmeṇaiva vilîyate*
Sukhaṁ duḥkhaṁ bhayaṁ kṣemaṁ karmeṇairābhipadyate
13
Sattavaṁ rajastama iti stityutpattyanta-hetavaḥ
Rajasotpadyate viśvamanyonyaṁ vividhaṁ jagat || 22
Rajasā coditā meghā varṣambyamuvuni sarvataḥ
Prajāstaireva sidhyanti Mahendraḥ kiṁ kariṣyati || 23
*****Upahṛtya valīn sarvānādrtā yavasaṁ gavāṁ*
Godhanāni puraskrtya girim cakruḥ pradakṣiṇaṁ || 33
Kṛṣṇastvanya-tamam rūpaṁ gopa-viśrambhanaṁ gataḥ
Śailo'-smîti vruvan bhūri-vali-mādad-vrhat-vapuḥ || 35
(ch. 24).

Ahancairāvataṃ nāgamāruhyānuvraje Vrajaṁ
Marud-gaṇair-mahā-vīrjyair-Nanda-goṣṭha-jighāṁsayā ||
(Ch. 25, Verse 7),

this outrage on his Majesty (*deva-helanam*) vowed a terri ble vengeance to punish the pasture of Nanda and mounted on his elephant accompanied by his storm-gods.

Being severely agitated by the terrible flood—which covered all places high and low (*Jaloghair plāvyamāna-bhur-na-dṛśyata natonnataṁ*) the oppressed herdsmen and maids, and the shivering cattle—repaired to Govinda—and cried for protection " O ! Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of Gokula—it is for you to protect us from the wrath of the God—who is striking us senseless by the rain of hails." Then Kṛṣṇa meditated a moment and resolved to protect the pasture, and held aloft the Hill Govardhana with one hand,—like a boy balancing an umbrella, and advised the herdsmen to get into the caves of the Hill along with their cattle, which they did, and Indra, discomfited by the miracle, found his resolution failed, and called back the clouds.[30] And Kṛṣṇa replaced the Hill on the earth.

Thereafter, all the gods, angels and heavenly beings came to worship Kṛṣṇa—by raining down flowers from the heavens. Then Nanda recited the assertion of the Sage Garga that Kṛṣṇa was no other than Nārāyaṇa. Then Indra came and rendered his homage to Kṛṣṇa—with a

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(30) "*Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Mahābhāga tvannāthaṁ Gokulaṁ prabho*
Trātumahrasi devānnaḥ kupitād-bhakta-vatsala || 13
Śilā-varsa nipātena hanya-manāmacetanaṁ
Nirīkṣya Bhagavān mene kupitendra-kṛtaṁ hariḥ || 14
Tasmātmaccharaṇam goṣṭham mannātham mat-parigrahaṁ
Gopāye svātma-yogenā so'yam me vrata āhitaḥ || 18
Ityuktvaikena hastena kṛtvā Govardhanācalam
Dadhāra līlayā Kṛṣṇas-chatrākamiva vālakaḥ || 19
Kṛṣṇa-yagānubhavaṁ taṃ niśāmyendro' ti-vismitaḥ
Nistambho bhraṣṭa-saṅkalpaḥ svān meghān saṃnyavārayat || 24
Ch. 25.

long prayer, touching his feet with his crown. And the diefication of the New God was complete.[31]

Coming to the later version of the Legend as given in popular Hindi recensions, the most well known text is that of the Prema-Sāgara by Lallu-ji-Lal.[32]

The recitals in this version are free rendering of the texts of the Purāṇas, without slavishly following any particular text. I cite from the English translation [33]

" Chapter XXV pages 64—66): Sree Sukdeoji said —Rājā, I will now inform you how Śrī-Kṛṣṇa Chand raised the hill Govardhan and destroyed the pride of Indra. When Nanda explained that the Festival of Indra was an ancestral custom, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa replied: " Father! our ancestors may with knowledge or without knowledge have worshipped Indra, but why do you intentionally leave a straight road and follow a steep one? By obeying Indra nothing is gained; because he has not the power of granting men's desires; or absolution from

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[31] (ch. 26):

Śrūyatām me vaco gopā vyetu saṁkā ca vo'rbhake
Enaṁ Kumāra-muddhiśya Gargo me yaduvāca ha || 15
Ya etasmin mahābhāgāḥ prītiṃ kurvvanti mānvāḥ
Nārayo' bhibhantyetān Viṣṇu-pakṣā-nivāsurāḥ || 21
Tasmād-nanda-kumaro'yaṃ Nārāyaṇa samo guṇaiḥ
Sriyā kīrttyānubhāvena tat-karmmasu na vismayaḥ || 22

(Ch. 27):

Govardhane dhṛte śaila āsārādrakṣite vraje
Golokādāvrajat Kṛṣṇaṃ surabhiḥ Sakra eva ca..... || 1)
Vivikta upasangamya vrīḍitaḥ kṛta-helanaḥ
Pasparaśa pādayorenaṁ kirīṭenārka-varccasā || 2
Namastubhyaṁ bhagavate puruṣāya mahātmane
Vāsu-devāya Krisṇāya sātvatāṁ pataye namaḥ || 10
Tvayeśānugrihitosmi dhastastambho vṛthodyamaḥ
Iśvaraṁ gurumātmānaṁ tvāmahaṁ śaraṇam gataḥ || 13

[32] Samvat 1820-1881.

[33] Published in 1900 by the National Press, Allahabad.

sin; and who has obtained prosperity and the accomplishment of his objects from him; mention to me one on whom has he ever conferred a boon ? " Yeilding to the insistent pleadings of Kṛṣṇa—Nanda and his cowherds abandoned the worship of Indra and began the worship of the Hill Govardhana—with the result that Indra, enraged, sent down his punishment of rain and thunder.

O, Great King when the thundering cloud began to pour down rain in this manner from all the quarters, the cowherds and the cow-herdesses together with Nanda and Yaśodā, alarmed and drenched with water, trembled violently and having gone to Kṛṣṇa, called out, " O Kṛṣṇa how shall we escape from this great deluge? You made us abandon the worship of Indra, and perform pujah to the hill, please call him quickly to preserve us; otherwise, we shall be drowned in a second, together with the city." Śrī Kṣṛṇa Candra replied: be not at all be anxious, the lord of hills will come immediately and protect you."' Thus saying and heating the hill Govardhana, he made it like fire, and raised it up, and supported it on the little finger of his left hand, upon this, all the inhabitants of Vraja with their cattle came and stood under it, and on beholding Śrī Kṛṣṇa, began to say with astonishment to each other: Some Viṣṇu has descended upon the earth; Kṛṣṇa is a god of gods.'

How, brother, can Mohana be a mortal, since he has supported a hill upon his finger ? " . . . . The Lord of Clouds with his collected force and in great wrath poured down rain very heavily which fell upon the hill with a hissing sound and became like drops falling upon a hot baking plate."

The village of Vraja and its people and cattle were saved by the miracle, and Indra defeated in his spiteful adventure was put to flight, with his army of clouds. Later he came to pay his respects to Kṛṣṇa. " When

Indra beheld Śrī Kṛṣṇa Candra at a distance dismounting from his elephant, he came barefooted; and trembling with a cloth thrown about his neck, fell at the feet of Kṛṣṇa, and began to say "O, Lord of Braj, have mercy on me: I have been very proud and presumptuous. You are Lord of the World; dwelling in the Vedas. Lakṣmī constantly attending on you, has become your servant. You descend upon the earth for men's sake; and remove all the burdens of the earth. Put away all my faults, I have been very presumtuous and foolish."

There are various other vernacular versions of the episode in different parts of India, but there is none to beat the version of the Sūra-Śāgara.[34]

If we now turn from the literary texts—to the visual and plastic representations of the Legend,—we find some of the lithic versions are earlier than the texts cited by us. Thus, the well-known relief in the Mathura Museum, dated by Coomaraswamy in the third century, (here cited in Fig. D), though later than the *Harivaṁśa*, is earlier than all the versions in the Purāṇas. Two other versions, in stone, belong to the Gupta period. The one in the *Bhārat Kalā Pariṣad* (here cited in Fig. E) is superb in its isolated figures of Kṛṣṇa, rendered in the vigour of its epic grandeur—and is probably the rendering of the

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[34] Skandha, Song 87, p. 215, Vyankateswara Press Edition, 1953.

" Āju vraja mahā ghatanu ghana ghero
Ava Vraja rākhu ehi avasara sava citāvata mukha tero
Koti chhanave megha vulāyî āni kiyo Vraja dero ||
Musala dhāra ṭūṭai chahu disi ten bhai gayo divasa ādhero ||
Itanî kahata Jaśodā-nandana Govardhana tan hero
Kiyo upāya girivara dharive ko mahi ten pakāri ukhero ||
Sāt divasa jala varakhi sirani, hāramāni mukha phero
Srî-pati kiyo sahāya Sura-prabhu vund na āvate nero." ||

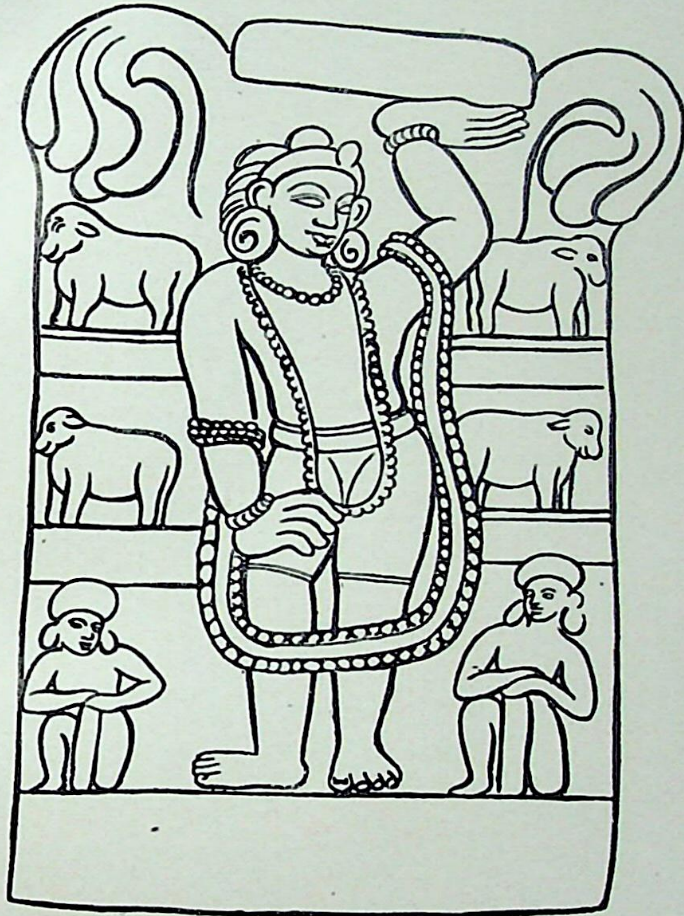


Fig. D.—Giri Govardhana-Dharaṇa
[*Mathura School, 3rd Century A. D.*]



Fig. E.—Giri-Govardhana-Dhāraṇa

[*Gupta School*]

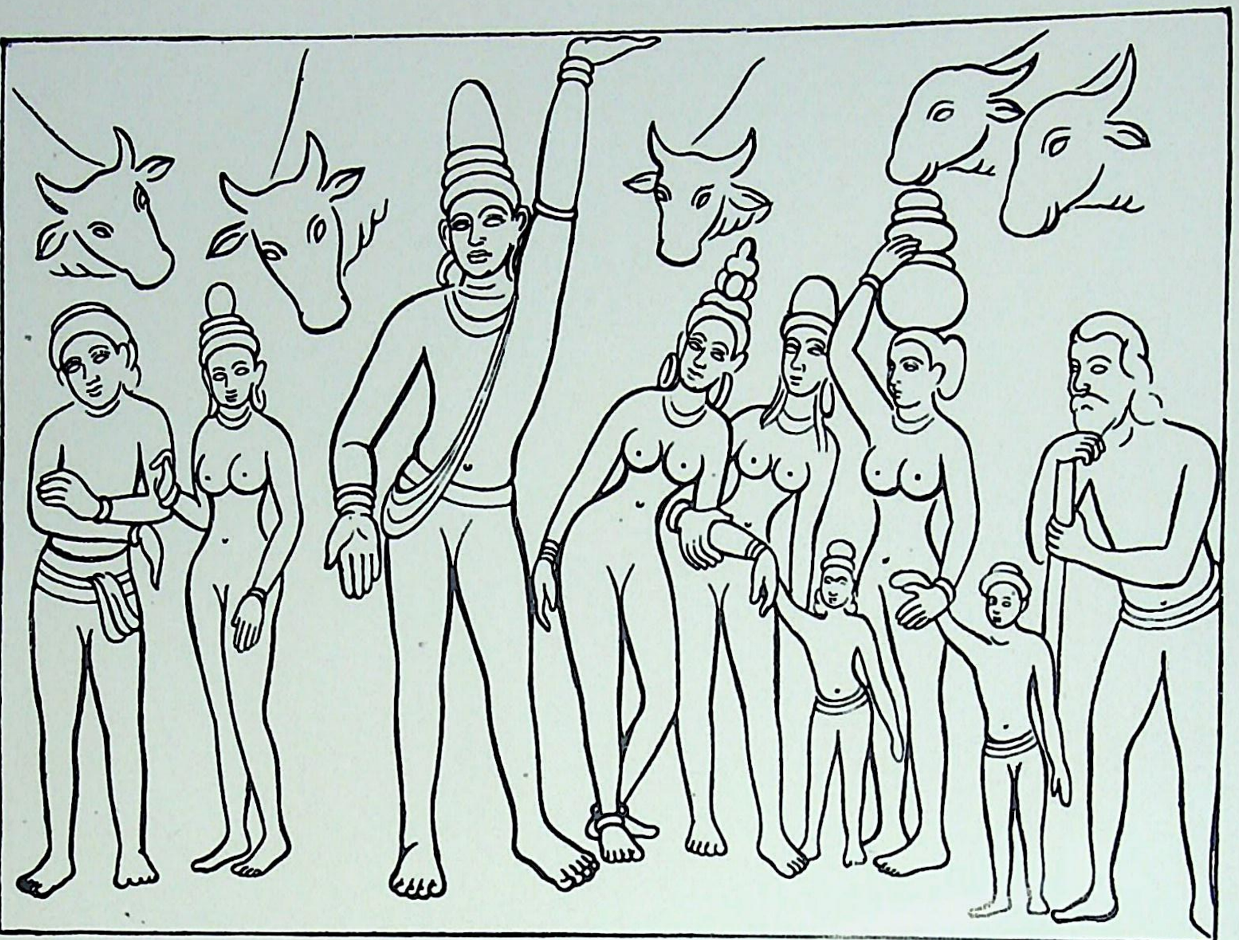


Fig. F.—Giri Govardhana-Dharana

[*Pallava School, 7th-8th Century*].

transcendental Hill—God of 'gigantic body' (*Vṛhat-Vapuḥ*) which Kṛṣṇa assumed, after he had declared that "I am the Hill itself" (*Śailo' smiti vruvan*), according to the version of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavataṁ*.[35] Here, the representation is iconic, rather than dramatic, while in the Mathura example (Fig. A.), there is some attempt made to render the dramatic illustration of the Legend, by introducing, a row of cows, and cowherd-boys. Much more vivid and narrative quality is evident in the expansive panel (*circa* 12 feet by 8 feet) in the Kṛṣṇa Maṇḍapa Cave at Mahavalipuram (Pallava School), datable in the first half of the seventh century (here cited in Fig. F.), where the Legend is visualized, with a good deal of circumstantial details, by the introduction of various other actors associated with the dramatic story,—namely the cattle, the cowherd boys, Nanda, and last, though not the least,—the figure of Rādhā. In this significant detail, the great Pallava Relief (Fig. F), affords valuable evidence in the process of the development of Rādhā-Kṛṣhṇa cult. Neither in the *Harivaṁśa*, nor in the *Śrī-mad Bhāgavata*—are there any references to Rādhā. Both these texts must, therefore, be earlier than the 7th Century A.D. the accredited date of the Pallava panel. We do not meet with Rādhā, before we come to the *Bramha-Vaivarta Purāṇa*, evidently a late text, at least later than the *Bhāgavata*. The only other earlier reference to Rādhā—is the well-known verse (I. 89) of the *Gāthā-sapta-śatī* (not later than the 5th century, possibly much earlier), where we find Kṛṣṇa, paying special attention to Rādhā, 'thus putting to shade and negligence—the other cowherd maidens' (*anyāsāmapi gauravaṃ harati*). But, here, there is no trace of the supreme position, as the source of and as the unity with Krishna's divinity, accorded to her in the

[35] Ch. 25, Sloka 35.

Bramha-Vaivarata purāṇa, and in the *Nārada-pañca-rātra Saṁhitā.* In one text, Rādhā is described as equal to Kṛṣṇa—and the very picture of His Image (" *Sarvvā-mśaiḥ Kṛṣṇa-sadṛśī tena Kṛṣṇ-svarūpinī.*") The doctrine, developed much later than the *Bhāgavat-purāṇa*, that Rādhā is the supreme source of all the spiritual energy of Kṛṣṇa—is first found to be applied to plastic representations—in the Pallava Panel, where Rādhā is represented as placed very close to Kṛṣṇa, to provide, as it were, the energy—necessary to perform the super-human and miraculous feat of uplifting and upholding the Govardhana Hill. In a series of pictorial versions, the Legend is illustrated—in numerous specimens of the Rajput Schools—particularly in Jaipur and in Pāhāḍî Kalams (style). But we have cited, here, a remarkable masterpiece from Kangra where the doctrine of Rādhā providing the necessary energy (Śakti) to Kṛṣṇa—in his miraculous feats. In the example (here cited in Fig. A), Rādhā is actually represented as touching the uplifted hand of Kṛṣṇa, standing in close proximity to him,—as if physically transmitting the energy—by actual contact—very like the flow of electricity through a conducting medium. It has not been possible to find sufficient ancient textual authority for this interesting detail in the Kangra Masterpiece. We can, however, rely for this detail—to a popular doggerel, current in Bengal—in the form of a quarrelsome dialogue between the Bird Śuka and Śāri, the respective devotees of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The Lady-Bird insisting on the superior energy of Kṛṣṇa, who is subordinated to Rādhā in all his superhuman exploits

In this quarrelsome dialogue, the prayers of Śuka in reciting the virtues of Kṛnṣa is contradicted, at each step, naïvely but effectively in a corresponding verse answering to the virtues of Rādhā—to the complete discomfiture of Śuka. Thus, when " Śuka said my Kṛṣṇa had held aloft

the hill, Śāri retorted: My Rādhā provided the energy—otherwise how could he uplift ? " (*Śuka vale āmār Kṛṣṇa giridhare cchila, Śāri vale āmār Rādhā vala sancārila, nai-le pārve kena* "). The application of this doctrine of Śaktivāda, with reference to this detail in the anecdote must have been embodied in some Hindī versions of the Legend—familiar to the Kangra artist who painted this masterpiece—adding a piquant dramatic touch to the picture—by including this detail in a significant gesture which knits the whole composition—in a marvellous unity, harmonizing the complicated lines running parallel to and crossing each other—imitating the sonal harmony of an instrument of many strings.

We shall be grateful to any reader who could trace the Hindî parallel to the Bengali doggerel cited above—which could not have been accessible to the Kangra painter.

Another important detail in Fig. A, not available in any other pictorial version, is the vivid presentation of the conflict of the two Cults,—the Old Vedic Indra-Cult in process of being superceded by the new Kṛṣṇa-Cult. This is very skilfully delineated in the upper part of Fig. A. which we cite, in detail, in Fig. B.

If we study this detail, we find that the artist has given—in a convincing visual version—the conflict between the two cults, realistically presenting before our eyes, with a good deal of details, and circumstantial evidence of the actuality of the struggle—Indra, riding on his Airāvata Elephant and leading the assault, through his army of Clouds and Rains—desperately straining all his energies—to maintain the supremacy of his Cult—by punishing the population of Vraja—for abandoning his worship—at the instigation of Kṛṣṇa the propounder of the new Cult. The artist is obviously in sympathy with the new Cult, and believes that it will succeed in the struggle, and there is an evident suggestion that Indra

will be defeated—in this dramatic conflict. This is skilfully suggested—in the respective proportions of the two contending heroes—in the fight. While the stately and tall figure of Kṛṣṇa—occupies more than three fourths of the length of the picture,—as compared to this—stately height, suggesting superior might, the " littleness " of the power of the Rain-God is indicated by the miniature effigy of the god on his elephant at the top, frantically displaying all his powers over rain and thunder—with an obvious suggestion that it is a losing battle—so far as Indra is concerned. The frantic energy of Indra contrasts with the self confident equanimity of the motionless posture of Kṛṣṇa without any show of agitation. Incidentally,—the portion of the top (Fig. B.) presents a remarkable piece of landscape-painting— with all details rendered with dramatic realism—the agitated branches of the trees frantically swaying in the storm—some of them already prostrate, with all their leaves torn away and the rubbles of the rock—being driven hither and thither—by the impact of the storm,—the whole landscape being lit up by the rhythmic and silvery lines of the lightning which is picked out against the dark canvas of the sky.

We have already alluded to the part that Rādhā plays in the picture,—touching the wrist of Kṛṣṇa—as she stands in close proximity of the Hero—providing and communicating the necessary physical " energy " for the feat—without which the Hero is incapable of performing the super-human act—as claimed by the She-bird Śāri—the devotee of Rādhā. That the introduction of this *Śakti-Vāda*, and the Rādhā-Cult—is a later development will be evident from an earlier pictorial version of the Legend, also of the Kangra School, from a specimen in the *Bhārat Kalā Pariṣad*, Benares, here cited in an outline Drawing (Fig. G.). If we study this drawing carefully we find that Kṛṣṇa is upholding the hill, with his

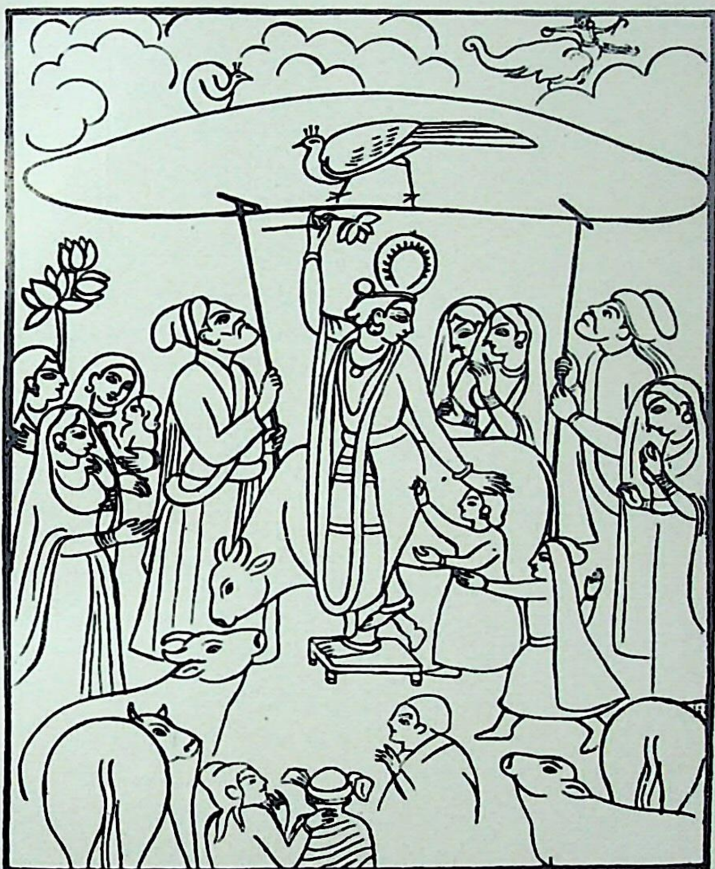


Fig. G.—Giri Govardhana Dhāraṇa
[*Kangra School*].

right arm, (not by his left as depicted in Fig A.). And, although Rādhā is standing very close to Kṛṣṇa—who is gazing on her, she is not providing the "energy"—and is not actually touching him. On the other hand, we find—that in this super-human act, he is being helped by other dwellers of the village—who are holding aloft their staffs (goading sticks of cowherds)—against the uplifted hill, as if Kṛṣṇa's single effort was not sufficient for the purpose. This is not an independent interpretation on the part of the artist, but is actually supported by a text said to have been current—amongst the Vaiṣṇavas of the Punjab Himālayas.

This is the Kashmirian version of the Legend—as given in the text of the *Kṛṣṇāvatāra Lîlā* attributed to one Dinā-nāth, actually a pen-name of a poet, named Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa, who lived during the reign of the Hindu King Sukha-Jivan Sinha who came to the throne in 1786 A.D. There is some doubts as to the date and actual authorship of this Kashmirian epic, very ably edited by Sir George Grierson.[36] The relevant verses (No. 326, 331) bearing on the point under discussion are cited here from the translation of the learned editor: "326. Then fell it to Kṛṣṇa to protect the cowherds. Mount Govardhana on his little finger did he uplift, and *with their clubs did the herd-lads to hold it up*." 331 Crieth one lad, 'I too helped the mountain to sustain'; another saith, 'Nay, it was on my club that upheld it was,' and all the cowherds joined in varied hymns of praise to Kṛṣṇa."

It is obvious, that according to this text, Rādhā did not offer any help in the great exploit of Kṛṣṇa, as depicted in the later masterpiece (Fig. G.)

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[36] Bibliotheca Indica, 247, 1928.

Any how, the pictorial documents we have cited, here, afford valuable clues to the development of the Legend—and particularly to the development of the Cult of Rādhā—(shall we say—Rādhā-vāda ?)—as the ādyā-śakti—the primordial source of the Spiritual Energy of Kṛṣṇa.

There is a detail common to the two pictures (Fig. A and Fig. G.) which may evoke some criticism and controversy. It will be seen that the bearded old persons (one of them Nanda) in both the pictures are dressed in long cloak, Kamara-bandha and turban which recall costumes worn in the Moghul Courts—which continued long into the 19th century. It was at one time believed that this was the fashion of Persian modes and costumes—imported from Persia and adopted by the Moghul Emperors and imposed on Indian courtiers and the employees of the Moghul Emperors. Dr. Goetz has established, on the basis of actual comparison of evidences of contemporary Persian costumes of the 16th and 17th century, that they differed substantially from the so-called "Moghul" costume. It is believed, that Akbar—as a policy of concilliation adopted the Rajput Indian dress—for his court ceremonials. And that in this way the current Indian costume of Rajputana and the neighbouring places—of the 15th and 16th century—became the dress-fashion of the Moghuls. The old persons represented in the two pictures are, therefore, dressed in Indian Rajput costumes and not in Persian manner of dressing. It is quite possible that the long coat—with double breast attached by tassels at the arm-pit—was derived from Kushana times and was the established mode of dressing in India long before the advent of the Moghuls. Therefore, there is nothing inconsistent—in the pictures which were painted by Hindu painters of Kangra—who represented Nanda, and other inhabitants of Vraja—in the current Indian costume—

which. later-on, was adpted by the Moghul Princes. In various reliefs on Bir Sing Deo's temple at Mathura (early 17th century) Gopas are represented as wearing this type of long tunics with kamarabandhas. They would not be represented on a Hindu Temple—if this mode of dressing was an importation from Persia.

We humbly claim, that on the pretext of tracing the early history of the Kṛṣṇa-Cult we have demonstrated that the study of Visual Arts of India—in its numerous masterpieces, yet surviving, can yield many valuable data for our culture-history—not available to scholars, exclusively confining their gazes to the four corners of the writte. texts.

DHARMA—ITS DEFINITION AND AUTHORITY

By V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

IN the concluding section of the *Śābara-bhāṣya* on the dharmapratijñā sūtra—I. 1. 1, it is stated that the *dharmapratijñā* consists of five elements—the nature of dharma, its definition and authority, its accessories, its non-accessories and its relation to the sacrificer and others, that the first two of these are explained by the secret sūtra चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः'— and that the remaining three are elucidated in detail in the remaining section. So says Śabarasvāmī—"तत्र को धर्मः, किं लक्षणः, कान्यस्य साधनानि, कानि साधनाभासानि, किंपरश्चेति। तत्र को धर्मः कथंलक्षणः इत्येकेनैव सूत्रेण व्याख्यातम्—चोदन लक्षणोऽर्थो धर्म इति। कान्यस्य साधनानि, कानि साधनाभासानि, किंपरश्चेति शेषलक्षणेन व्याख्यातं क्व पुरुषपरत्वं, क्व वा पुरुषो गुणभूत इत्येतासां प्रतिज्ञानां पिण्डस्यैतत्सूत्रं—अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा' इति"।

This *bhāṣya* passage is interpreted differently by different commentators. The *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* of Kumārila, one of his lost works,[2] gives one view—viz., that the first two

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[1] The word साधनाभास in explained in *Varttika* thus—'अन्यसाधनमन्यस्य साधनाभासमुच्यते (I. I. 1122).

The accessory of one when declared as the accessory of another becomes *Sādhanābhāsa*.

[2] Kumarilabhaṭṭa. is known as having written *five* works on Mīmāṁsā *Ścoka Vārttika, Tantra Vārttika, Ṭupṭikā, Madhyamaṭikā* and *Bṛhaṭṭikā* and of these five the last two are supposed to have been lost. Many Kārikās attributed to Kumarila but are not found in *Śloka Vārttika* and *Tantra Vārttika* are traced from later Mimāṁsā works including some works of the Prabhakara School and they are believed to be the Kārikās of *Bṛhaṭṭikā* which might have been written in prose and versa. A prose passage has been found cited in his *Jaiminiyssutrārtha sangrha by* Ṛṣiputra Paramelśvara III

"यथोक्तं बृहट्टीकायामेव—यदासम्बन्ध एव प्रमाणमिति योजना तदा कथं पुनस्तस्य प्रमाणत्वमित्यपेक्षायामुच्यते—'यतः उपदेशोहि भवति'। 'तस्य ज्ञानं' कारणम्। ज्ञायते हि तेन धर्मः। नच देशान्तरादिष्वन्यथाज्ञानेन व्यतिरिच्यते। न चासावन्यत उपलब्धः। तस्मात्तादृगुपदेशकारणत्वात्फलतः सम्बन्धस्यैव प्रमाणत्वव्यपदेश इति।"

pratijñās are explained by the first two adhyāyas of which the pramāṇas on dharma as indicated by the Codanā sūtra are fully explained in the first adhyāya and the dharma swarūpa is elucidated in the second adhyāya through the explanation of the mutual difference between one dharma and another, and the rest by the remaining chapters. This fact has been recorded by Ṛṣiputra Parameśvara III[3] of the famous Payyoor Mana in Kerala in his *Jaiminīya-sūtrārthasaṅgraha*, a celebrated commentary on *Pūrva-mīmāṁsāsūtras*, as follows:

"साद्येयं धर्मजिज्ञासाप्रतिज्ञा पञ्चधाश्रिता।
को धर्मः किं प्रमाणश्च साधनान्यस्य कानि च ॥
कानि वा साधनाभासान्येष किं पर इत्यपि।
आसां सूत्रं प्रतिज्ञानां पिण्डस्यैतत्कृतेकृतम् ॥
तत्र प्राच्यप्रतिज्ञार्थद्वयार्थाद्या द्विलक्षणी।
यद्वाद्यपादेनैवाद्यप्रतिज्ञार्थं द्वयाभिधा ॥
त्रिपाद्येकादशाध्यायैः शिष्टार्थानामिति स्थितिः।
तत्र त्रिपाद्या प्रामाण्यप्रकारः प्रतिपाद्यते।
कथंलक्षण इत्यत्र थमुनोऽर्थतया स्थितः।

. . . .

बृहट्टीकेष्ट आद्यस्स्यात् तत्र ह्येवमुदीरितम्।
अथवा द्वयमेवैतत्सर्वशास्त्रमुखं मतम् ॥
द्वयायाश्चोदनासूत्रं शेषाणां शेषलक्षणम्।
चोदनासूत्रनिर्दिष्टो यः प्रमाणपरिग्रहः ॥
सप्रकारस्स आद्येन लक्षणेन प्रपञ्चितः।
सर्वधर्मस्वरूपन्तु निबद्धं भेदलक्षणे ॥

I. 1 5). Many Kārikās probably belonging to *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* are collected and published by Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri in an article—'*Forgotten Kārikās of Kumārilabhaṭṭa*'. *vide J. O. R Madras* Vol. I pp. 131-144.

[3] *Vide* the author's introduction to his edition of *Tattrabindu* (A. U. S. S. No. III) Section—The Paramesvras of Kerala, pp. 87—92. The *Jaiminisutrārthasangraha* (Part I) is now being edited by the present author in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. (T. S. S.).

In these verses another view is also recorded by Ṛsi putra Paramesvara viz., that the first two pratijñās are explained in the first pāda of the first adhyāya and the remaining by the remaining pādas of the first adhyāya and the eleven chapters.

At the end of the first pāda of the first adhyāya of his *Śāstradīpikā*[4], Pārthasārathi Miśra sums up very clearly the contents of the two pratijñās. The Codanasūtra enjoins two things (1) that Codanā *alone* is the authority on dharma— चोदनैव प्रमाणम् —and (2) that Codanā is authority only on dharma— 'चोदना प्रमाणमेव' . The first of these implies that other well-known pramāṇas like perception (Pratyakṣa) are not authorities on dharma and this has been further elucidated in the fourth sutra— सत्सम्प्रयोगे॰ The second is elucidated in detail in the fifth sūtra—'औत्प त्तिकस्तु॰', on the basis of the eternal relation between sound and sense (śabda and artha) The remaining three adhi-karaṇas in the first pāda establish the eternal nature of śabda, of vākya and of the entire Vedas as self-revelations, on which the validity of Codanā is founded. So what the Codanā sūtra has explained is further elucidated and established in the first pāda; the remaining three pādas in the first adhyāya cannot be therefore spoken of as explanation of the Codanāsūtra. The second pratijñā viz. 'किंलक्षणो धर्मः' speaks of all the authorities on dharma. The Codanā sūtra and the following adhikaraṇas in the first pāda deal with Codanā only. The remaining pādas deal with other authorities—artha-vādas, mantras, smṛtis, ācāras, nāmadheyas, vakyaśeṣa and sāmarthya.

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(४) 'यदि चोदनासूत्रे प्रतिज्ञातं—भेदशेषप्रयुक्तिक्रमनियमाधिकारातिदेशबाधोह-तन्त्रप्रसङ्ग सर्वविशेषणविशिष्टे धर्मस्वरूपे चोदनैव प्रमाणं, प्रमाणमेव चोदनेति, तत्र चोदनैवेत्यवधारणेन यच्चोदनानिरपेक्षाणां तया सह तुल्यकक्षतया स्पर्धमानानां प्रत्यक्षादीनामप्रामाण्यं प्रतिज्ञातं

Somanātha Dikṣita, the celebrated commentator on Sāstradīpikā, gives another view.[5] The Codanā sūtra enjoins that Codanā alone is the valid authority on dharma. This includes therefore the arthavādas, mantras, and nāmadheyas which are the integral parts of Codanā and those smṛtis and ācāras, also based on the vedas, thereby implying that the Bauddha smṛtis and their customs and practices are not authorities on dharma. So the whole of the first adhyāya is to be taken as the elaboration of the Codanā sūtra. The third sūtra— निमित्तपरीष्टिः' can be taken as the pratijñā sūtra of the contents of the first pāda of the first adhyāya.

What is dharma and what is its authority are the two questions that have been answered by the sūtra चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः— One by express statement and the other by implication. To this effect the *Vārttika* runs thus :—

'द्वयमेकेन सूत्रेण श्रुत्यर्थाभ्यां निरूप्यते।
स्वरूपेऽपिहि तस्योक्ते प्रमाणं कथ्यतेऽर्थतः ॥

The word 'चोदना' generally means the Vedic injunction. So says the Bhāṣyakāra—चोदनेति क्रियायाः प्रवर्तकं वचनमाहुः।

तत्प्रत्यक्षसूत्रेण साधितम् 'औत्पत्तिकस्त्वि'इत्यादिना पादशेषेण प्रमाणमेवेत्ययमंशः साधितः। तदेवमस्मिन्नेव पादे चोदनासूत्रप्रतिज्ञातार्थविशेषे स।धिते उपरितनं पादत्रयं चोदनासूत्र शेषतया न सङ्गच्छते किन्तु प्रथमे सूत्रे 'किंलक्षणो धर्मः' इति धर्मस्य प्रमाणं वक्तव्यत्वेन प्रतिज्ञातं तत्रानेन पादेन चोदनायाः प्रामा यमुक्त्वा। अर्थवादस्मृतिनामधेयानामुपरितनेन पादत्रयेण प्रामाण्यं प्रतिपाद्यते। तेन चोदनासूत्रवदेव पादत्रयं जिज्ञासासूत्रोक्तया'को धर्मः' इत्यनयैव प्रतिज्ञया सङ्गच्छते।"

(५) "वस्तुतस्तु चोदनैवप्रमाणमिति साक्षाद्धर्मप्रमितिकरणस्य चोदनावाक्यस्य प्रामाण्य प्रतिज्ञायां तच्छेष्पतया तन्मूलतयाच प्रमाणानामर्थवादस्मृत्यादीनामर्थार त्प्रामाण्यं प्रतिज्ञातं भवति। अवधारणव्यवच्छेद्यास्तु चोदनानिरपेक्षा बौद्धाद्यागमा एवेति कृत्स्नाध्यायार्थप्रतिज्ञापरत्वं चोदनासूत्रस्य। प्रथमपादार्थप्रतिज्ञा तु 'तस्य निमित्त परीष्टिः' इति सूत्रेण क्रियत ति कल्पयितुं युक्तम्। ग्रन्थकारपक्षे तु निमित्तसूत्रस्य नातीवप्रयोजनमिति ध्येयम"। *Vide—Mayūkhamālikā* on *Sastradipikā*, N. S. dition. *ibid*, p. 2

But here it means the entire Vedas including the Vedic injunctions. So the compound 'चोदनालक्षण:' means that which is conveyed by the Vedas and that which possesses Codanā as authority. The word 'arthaḥ' is to be derived as 'अर्थ्यतेऽनेन'' —that by which some desired fruit or result is accomplished. So the total sense is that dharma is that which is conveyed by the Vedas as the cause of a desired fruit— वेदबोधितश्रेयःसाधनताको धर्मः'।

Objections have been raised as to the desirability or necessity of all the parts in the body of the definition of dharma. It is argued that dharma can be defined as an action enjoined by the Vedas—वेदविहितक्रियात्वं धर्मत्वम्। Then the substance like curd enjoined by the injunctions like 'दध्ना जुहोति' and the quality like the red colour contained in the injunction 'अरुणया क्रीणाति' cannot be called dharmas because they are not actions. It is highly necessary to make the definition of dharma so wide and comprehensive as to include all that is enjoined by the Vedic injunctions—substance, quality, action, etc. Though these objects are perceptible they are called dharma because of their imperceptible capacity to produce some desired fruit through some action enjoined by the injunctions. So observes the *Vārttikakāra*—

'द्रव्यक्रियागुणादीनां धर्मत्वं स्थापयिष्यते।
तेषामैन्द्रियकत्वेऽपि न तद्रूपेण धर्मता॥
श्रेयस्साधनता ह्येषां नित्यं वेदात्प्रतीयते।
ताद्रूप्येण च धर्मत्वं तस्मान्नेन्द्रियगोचरः॥"

And people who offer curd as the oblation in the Agnihotra sacrifice with the desire of attaining the *indriya-phala* on the authority of the injunction 'दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य जुहुयात्' are known as *dhārmikas*—those who have practised dharma; and this fact cannot be explained unless the oblation ' curd ' is called *dharma*. Nor is it ufficient to say that dharma is that which is enjoined by

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the Vedas— 'वेदविहितत्वं धर्मत्वम्' This no doubt includes all—substance, quality and actions—within the pole of dharma but it would also include under dharma certain enjoined action like the utterance of falsehood for the sake of marriage— 'विवाहार्थं मनृतंवदेत्'। The utterance of falsehood is prohibited by the niṣedha— 'नानृतं वदेत्' —and thus brings to the speaker some sin and suffering ultimately. The injunction 'विवाहार्थमनृतं वदेत्' does not enjoin the utterance of falsehood for some worldly benefit; for, without an injunction even, the worldly man is apt to utter falsehood to attain his selfish end. It is a निषेधोत्तरविधि or अभ्यनुज्ञाविधि —an injunction following a prohibition (niṣedha) or permitting him to follow the evil practice under the emergency of marriage and it indicates that the man if he practices anṛtavadana under this emergency will not be liable to the sin and suffering which under any other circumstance he would have to undergo. The injunction of anṛtavadana does not therefore enjoin it for the attainment of any worldly or heavenly benefit. Hence it is not *dharma*. The part 'श्रेयस्साधनत्वं' which is the meaning of the ' arthaḥ ' in the sūtra is essential to exclude the fruits like svarga from the domain of dharma though they are described by the Veda as eternal abode or state of happiness, not associated with any kind of suffering. Similarly the part 'वेदबोधितत्व' is essential to exclude from the scope of dharma certain daily practices like annabhakṣaṇa which are intended for some fruit like the preservation of life, etc.; since they are not enjoined by the Vedas but known only through our worldly experience as very essential for our existence, they are not dharmas.

Whether the Śyena sacrifice which is enjoined by the Vedic injunction—'श्येनेनाभिचरन् यजेत।—that for the fruit of abhicāra, a hiṁsā can be a dharma is a disputed question. It is dharma since it is enjoined by the Vedic injunction

as the cause of a fruit like abhicāra. The fruit abhicāra is a hiṁsā—an activity to cause another's death—(मरणानुकूल-व्यापारः) which is prohibited and not its cause, viz., the Śyena sacrifice. Since it is the cause of hiṁsā it can be grouped under tāmasa dharma as defined in the *Gītā*—परस्योत्सादनार्थं यत्तत्तामसमुदाहृतम्।' Tāmasa dharma is that which is intended for the destruction of another. So nobody would have any free liking to perform the Śyenayāga. Hence it is said that Śyenayāga is both dharma and adharma.[6]

It is argued that the dharma pratijñā in the first sūtra contains the adharma pratijñā also (by splitting the sūtra into अथ अतः, अधर्मजिज्ञास) since the knowledge of adharma would help one to understand the nature of dharma. Moreover, the knowledge of dharma is essential to practice it while that of adharma is necessary to abstain from it and both the practice of dharma and the non-practice of adharma are essential for the attainment of final puruṣārtha-mokṣa. This view is spoken of by Ṛṣiputra Parameśvara in his *Jaiminīya-sūtrārtha Saṅgraha* as being explained by the Bṛhaṭ-ṭīkākāra, viz., Kumārilabhaṭṭa—

"(इति-) किञ्चान्तधर्मस्य सूत्रिता यथा।
अधर्मस्यापि जिज्ञासा तथा सूत्रेण सूत्रिता॥
सन्धेस्साधारणत्वेन शक्यं छेत्तुं तथापि हि।
स्पष्टानुक्तिस्तु शास्त्रादावृषेर्माङ्गलिकत्वतः।
नन्वधर्मोऽपि शास्त्रस्य पक्षेऽस्मिन्स्यात्प्रयोजनम्।
यत तस्यापि जिज्ञासाकर्मभावात्पुमर्थता॥
अस्तु को दोष एषोऽपि हातुं पुंसेष्यते यतः।
तस्माद्यथानुनिष्ठा सोर्धर्म तज्ज्ञानमीप्सितम्॥
जिहासोरपि चाधमं तथा तद्धीरपेक्षिता।
अभ्यधायि बृहट्टीकाकारेणैतदपि स्फुटम्॥"

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[6] *Vide Bhāṭṭarahasya*, Dharma definition Section, Conjeevaram edition p. 2.

It is on this assumption that adharma is also to be investigated in this Sūtra that Bhāṣyakāra says— "उभयमिह चोदनया लक्ष्यते—अर्थोऽनर्थश्च। कोऽर्थः ? योनि श्रेयसांय ज्योतिष्टोमादिः:। कोऽनर्थः ? यः प्रत्यवायाय श्येनो वज्र इषुरित्येवमादिः। तत्रानर्थो धर्म उक्तो मा भूदित्यर्थग्रहणम् ॥"

This passage explains the significance of the word '*arthaḥ*' in the dharmalakṣaṇa sūtra. It is interpreted as that which is capable of producing eternal bliss like svarga and it excludes from the scope of dharma all anarthas capable of producing sins and sufferings in the performer. So the word Codanā means by lakṣaṇā the vidhivākyas like 'अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्स्वर्गकामः' and the niṣedhavākyas like 'न हिंस्यात्सर्वा भूतानि' the former enjoining the agnihotra sacrifice for the attainment of svarga and the latter prohibiting hiṁsās and declaring them as anarthas in the sense that the practice of those prohibited things would bring to the practiser ultimate suffering—pratyavāya. The word ' arthaḥ ' includes anartha also. So dharma and adharma are as 'चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः, and 'चोदनालक्षणोऽनर्थोऽधर्मः

The word ' dharmaḥ ' is interpreted in the Bhāṣya as श्रेयस्करः—'तस्माच्चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थः श्रेयस्कर :—The *Vārttika* also says—

"धर्म इत्युपसंहार्ये यच्छ्रेयस्करभाषणम्।
तद्धर्मपदवाच्यार्थनिरूपणविवक्षया ॥"

The term dharma means those sacrifices and the manifold accessories thereto and the consequent apūrva which is produced in the performer when these sacrifices are performed and endures in him till he is in a position to enjoy the श्रेयस् , the everlasting pleasure or happiness of mankind, both here and in the other world. The Puruṣasūkta passage 'यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवाः तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन्' explains the term dharma. The first word yajña in this passage means yajñasādhana like dravya and guṇa and the second, sacrifices; so the total sense is that the Gods

performed various sacrifices with different kinds of accessories and these sacrifices and the accessories were the first dharma which are intended for the accomplishment of everlasting happiness—abhyudaya.

The word 'arthaḥ' is spoken of by the Bhāṣyakāra as excluding all anarthas from the scope of dharma. The word 'ubhayam' in the *bhāṣya* cited above means that which is prohibited—vidheya and niṣedha and they are called artha and anartha respectively. That Śyena is a dharma because it is enjoined by an injunction for a desired fruit and that it becomes an anartha only through its fruit—abhicāra—are explained in the *bhaāṣya*—"कथं पुनरसावनर्थः? हिंसा हि सा। हिंसा च प्रतिषिद्धेति।"

Another interpretation of this *bhāṣya*—'उभयमिह' etc. is given in the *Vārttika*.[7] The word ubhayam is taken in the sense of sādhya and *sādhana*, the relation between the two being enjoined by the injunction. The first of the prescribed sacrifices is of two kinds—artha and anartha, the first representing svarga and the like which are not prohibited while the second belonging to the category of hiṁsās which are prohibited. The Syena sacrifice which is enjoined by a vidhivākya does not come within the scope of the general hiṁsāniṣedhavākya—'न हिंस्यात्सर्वा भूतानि' though its fruit abhicāra is prohibited by it. Hence Śyena is not an anartha. The vidhivyāpāra operates only on the two aṁśas of the bhāvanā—sādhana and itikartavyatā and not on the *aṁśa* of sādhya since man acts on his own accord to attain his desired object. So the sādhyāṁśa cannot be a vidheya—enjoined by a vidhi and that which becomes the object of vidhi is called artha and dharma. Hence the Śyena sacrifice is an artha and a dharma.

In his *Tātparyaṭīkā*, a commentary on *Ślokavārttika*, Bhaṭṭomveka says that the bhāṣya beginning with

7 *Vide ŚlokaVārttika*, I. I-2 Verses 219-225.

'उभयमिह चोदनया लक्ष्यते' which explains that Śyena is an anartha is to be discarded, though the Vārttikakāra justifies it by giving valid interpretations (in verses 216 and the following) on the ground that Śyena cannot, directly, metaphorically or through its fruit, be an instance of anartha since it is enjoined by a Vedic injunction for the attainment of a fruit and that it can be illustrated only by brahmahatyā and such other prohibited things—

'तस्मादुभयमित्यत्र विधेयप्रतिषेध्ययोः।
यागादिब्रह्महत्यादिवर्गयोः स्यान्निदर्शनम्॥

"श्येनादीनां तु न साक्षान्नाप्युपचारेण नापि तत्फलस्यानर्थमिति तस्यानर्थत्वप्रतिपादनपरं 'श्येनो वज्र इषुरित्येवमादि' भाष्यमुपेक्षणीयम्। तदुक्तं—

'गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः।
उत्पथं प्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयताम्॥'

"श्येनादीनां विधेयत्वादिष्टस्यापि च साधनात्।
उपचारादनर्थत्वं फलद्वारेण वर्ण्यते॥"[9]
इति व्याख्यानान्तरन्त्वनभिप्रेतमेव भाष्यगमनिकामात्रेणोक्तमिति।"[10]

The Naiyāyikas do not accept the Śyena sacrifice as a dharma; so to exclude it, they add to the body of the definition of dharma the part— बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धि that which is capable of bringing worse sin and suffering to the performer than what he obtains as its temporary fruit. The Śyena sacrifice no doubt produces the immediate temporal fruit, viz., the destruction of enemies of the sacrificer but it is indirectly a himsā and it brings him ultimate fall to hell (as indicated by the prohibition—'न हिंस्यात्सर्वा भूतानि') which is considered a greater sin and suffering than the temporal gain and pleasure derived from

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[8] *Vide ibid,* I. 1·2 (Verse 215).

[9] *Vide Śloka Vārttika,* T. 1-2 (Verse 216).

[10] *Vide Tātparyaṭikā,* Madras University Sanskrit Seris, No. 13-p. 108.

the death of his foes. The Mīmāṁsakas object to the very interpretation of the compound बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धि as given by the Naiyāyikas. The adjective balavat to aniṣṭa is not to be interpreted as 'greater ultimate suffering than the temporary gaining result, but they say balavat means the object of one's greatest hatred— उत्कटद्वेषविषयः . Both desire and hatred are matters of taste and what is liked by one is hated by the other. So one and the same sacrifice can become the object of greatest desire for one person or of greatest hatred for another; in the former he acts while in the latter he keeps aloof so their autkaṭya—a high degree in desire or hatred of an object which varies in different persons according to their taste and prohibition—पूर्वजन्मवासना is a generality which can be ascertained from the result औत्कट्यं च जातिविशेषः फलैकोन्नेयः"[11]. So the Mīmāṁsakas contend that the adjunct बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धि in the body of dharmalakṣaṇa cannot exclude the Śyena sacrifice from the realm of dharma, since we see persons who, following the Vedic injunctions and ignoring the hiṁsā prohibition, perform the Śyena sacrifice simply to attain the temporal gain. We also see many people who are not moved an inch when the Vedic injunctions preach the obligatory nature of the daily practice of the Agnihotra sacrifice and the worship of sandhya by a dvija householder lest they should fall victims to the eternal divine punishment. Similarly, however much one is warned by the prohibitions that nobody should practise anykind of hiṁsā—violent act leading to one's death, one is actuated by selfishness to commit murder for the removal of one's enemies from the face of the earth. So the Śāstras—both injunctions and prohibitions—enjoin and prohibit certain things for man's ultimate good but he acts only according to his taste and predilection. So the Mīmāṁsakas conclude

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[11] *Vide Bhāṭṭarahasy*. Conjeevaram Edition, p. 6.

that the part—बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धि in the body of dharma-lakṣaṇa does not serve the intended purpose.

Again, the part वेद बोधित is to be qualified by the adverb स्वातन्त्र्येण which means independently and exclusively.[12] The Vedic injunctions like 'अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्स्वर्गकामः' enjoin the Agnihotra sacrifice for the fruit of svarga and this fact is known exclusively from this particular injunction and not from any other pramāṇa. This is to exclude the final knowledge of Ātman—ātmatattvajñāna—from the scope of dharma. The Upaniṣads which are the last parts of the Vedas explain, the nature of the knowledge of Ātman, as the only cause of final liberation—mokṣa. Hence it is वेदबोधितश्रेय साधनताक But the fact that the ātmajñāna is the cause of liberation which is in the form of the removal or destruction of the ajñāna—nescience—the root-cause of this phenomenal world— 'अविद्यास्तमयो मोक्षः सा च बन्ध उदाहृतः' can also be understood from our wordly knowledge of causality both positive and negative as in the instance that the knowledge of one object like the pot removes the ignorance of the same घटज्ञानासत्त्वे घटाज्ञाननि निवृत्तिः and the absence of its knowledge leads only to the existence or continuity of its ignorance—घटज्ञानासत्त्वेतदज्ञानसत्त्वम् . If liberation is not the total destruction or the absolute removal of ajñāna and its effect as accepted by the Advaitins and if this phenomenal world is not the effect of the beginningless ajñāna but is always real (satya) and without begin-

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(१२) 'वेदबोध्यत्वं च वेदातिरिक्तप्रमाणेन स्वातन्त्र्येण अबोध्यत्वे सति वेद-ा-बोध्यत्वम्। तेन तत्त्वसाक्षात्काररूपब्रह्मज्ञानस्य ब्रह्मविषयक सविलासाज्ञान-निवृत्तिरूपमोक्षजनकत्वस्य प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धस्योपनिषद्बोध्यत्वेऽपि न तस्य धर्मत्वा पत्तिः। यदापि प्रपंचस्य सत्यत्वेन नाज्ञानकार्यत्वम्, मोक्षश्चैकविंशतिदुःखध्वंसादि-रूपस्तत्त्वज्ञानजन्यः इति मतमपि प्रामाणिकम्, तदा मोक्षजनकत्वस्य प्रमाणान्तरगम्य-त्वात्तत्र धर्मत्वपरिहारार्थं वेदबोधि तत्वं विहाय विधिबोधितत्व देयम्। ज्ञानस्य प्रमाणवस्तुपरतन्त्रत्वेन प्रवर्तनाविषयत्वाभावान्न विधिबोध्यत्वम्!

Vide Bhūṭṭarahasya, Dharma Definition section p. 3.

ning (anādi) and liberation is only the total destruction of the twenty-one kinds of pains—(एकविंशतिदुःखध्वंसो मोक्ष तत्त्वज्ञानजन्य) which is to be acquired by tattvajñāna, then it can be said that this fact, viz., that tattvajñāna leads to liberation is understood only from the Vedas so the tattvajñāna also becomes a dharma according to the definition— "स्वातन्त्र्येण वेदमात्रबोधित श्रेयस्साधनताको धर्मः।" But (knowledge) is not dharma .just like the sacrifices since it is not to be produced by the volition of a man—puruṣakṛti. It is produced when its necessary pramāṇas like the sensory organs and the object of cognition are present. So exclude therefore the tattvajñāna from the fold of dharma, the part वेदबोधित is to be modified as विधिबोधित . Tattvajñāna cannot be, as explained above, enjoined by an injunction.

It is even argued on the authority of certain smṛti passages like.—

'इज्याचारदयाहिंसादानस्वाध्यायकर्मणाम्।
अयन्तु परमो धर्मः यद्योगेनात्मदर्शनम्॥"

the ātmajñāna which is to be acquired by yoga is the greatest dharma of all—yāga, (sacrifice) ācāras, (customs and practices) dayā (sympathy) ahiṁsā (non-violence) dāna (charity) svādhyāyakarma (the daily practices of Vedic recitation). It is called the greatest dharma because it is in its final form capable of removing the ajñāna which is described as a positive beginningless entity different from sat (the real) and from asat (the unreal) and which is known as the material cause of all kinds of worldly pains and sufferings. The Upaniṣad passages like 'तरति शोकमात्मवित्' proclaim that the ātmajñāna makes one free from all sufferings created by the avidyā. The passage— 'आत्मा वारे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः—enjoins the ātmajñāna along with śravaṇa, manana and nididhyāsana. The question that the knowledge of ātman cannot be enjoined in the sense that it never becomes the

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object of volition—kṛti and that it is produced by its pramāṇas and its object is to be solved by the fact that it can be said figuratively as a vidheya through its causes like the mental meditations—maṇaḥpraṇidhāna, as in the instances of Kāla (time) and ākāśa through their limitation—upādhis or āśrayas.

Those who do not accept knowledge as a dharma explain the word darśana in the sense of the means of knowledge—darśana karaṇa (by taking it a करणल्युडन्त viz., nirvikalpasamādhi which is the cause of ātmajñāna and which is produced by yoga—savikalpa samādhi. Those who accept ātmajñāna as a dharma argue that the word darśana is only a *bhāvalyuḍanta* in the sense of knowledge itself and that the word *yoga* can be interpreted as the sum total of the mental meditations from savikalpasamādhi to nirvikalpasamādhi, when there is complete cessation of the mental activities and the activities of the sensory organs and the organs of action. The explanation of tavya pratyaya in 'द्रष्टव्यः' in the sense of (deserving) is not acceptable if it is possible to interpret it in the primary sense of vidhi. Above all it is very essential to accept that this Upaniṣadic injunction— 'आत्मा वारे द्रष्टव्यः' contains a very important commandment to save mankind from total ruin by falling into the deep whirlpool of saṁsāra—a commandment urging every human being to rise up above the ordinary level and bestow his thought on serious problem like ātmajñāna containing in the simple questions ' who am I ? ' and ' what am I.' Such serious enquiries or investigations regarding the nature of Ātman and the means of main liberation from the bondages of the world are not generally made unless and until the man is compelled to do; and such deep philosophical and spiritual investigations are made in all Upaniṣads mostly in the form of dialogues between the Ācāryas and their disciples.[13]

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[13] *Vide Bhoṭṭarahasya*, the concluding section of dharma lakṣaṇa. p. 3. and Sambhubhatta's *PrabhaVali* p. 5 (N. S. edition, Bombay)

FUTURE OF INDIAN MUSEUMS

By Adris Banerji

Pre-War India

Introduction

The museums, in every country, are national institutions recording the cultural heritage of a nation. Speaking about Museums L. V. Coleman said "Museums are deep rooted in sentiment and objective reality and have shown from the start that they are destined to endure and grow." Unfortunately, however, the scope and functions of museums were little understood in India, with the result that Indian Museums lacked that progressive spirit, which marked the museums movements of England, America and the continent of Europe during the years 1919—39. The man in the street and the ordinary citizens have denominated these as *Jādūghar* (magic house) and *ajāib-ghar* (curio-house) because these two terms express their emotional reaction. To them, it was not a scientific institution, but a place in which a magician's wand had collected wonder things, figures of men and beasts in stone, stuffed animal and birds, plants, machines and paintings.

Tradition about art galleries is not lacking in the colourful history of India, but museums seem to have been unknown. The most illuminating example of art galleries are to be found in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacaritaṁ* where, Rāma was showing Sītā, the episodes of their wonderings in the forests and persecutions suffered at the hands of Rāvaṇa. The presence of Sītā, and Rāma. along with other principal *dramatis personae*, who could be recognised, suggests art of portaiture, though to what extent must be a moot point. The Rājasūya Parvaṁ of the *Mahābhāratam* contains a fine description of the tributes sent; and the palace of Pāṇḍavas, which probably imply,

that such public exhibitions of curios were practised. At Maṭha near Vṛndābana, there seems to have been a royal sculpture gallery (*devakula*). During the Muslim period, the name of Firoz Tughluq shines out as a connoisseur, due to the attention paid by him to the Mauryan pillars, and the ruins of Firoz Shah Kotla, still testify silently to his tastes; and Dara Shikoh, that unfortunate son of Shahejan, was a collector of books as well as savants. In that respect, all Muslim sovereigns were collectors in their own way, of manuscripts, calligraphs, rare copies of *Koran*, and paintings. This habit was emulated by the Peshwas. De Bigne that great savoyard adventurer, was a collector too. But these were more or less personal collections and not public institutions, in the sense that we know them to-day In the continent, the great monasteries and nunneries were repositories of all knowledge. The huge manuscript libraries grew up there. The Vatican Museum and Library were not thrown open to the public till the eighteenth century. The first public museum in Europe was Versailles Palace after the Revolution. Where are the priceless collection of Medicis? In India, the royal palaces, the secluded *maṭhas*, the exclusive Brahmin homes, were the repositories of all knowledge. The hand of the vandals have all destroyed them.

Incubating Period

The first museum of its kind, to be established in Asia, was the museum of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* in Calcutta, which was founded just forty years later than the *British Museum*, and as such is one of the oldest in the world. Even then, the motive behind the foundation was exhibition of the 'curiosities.' It was not until 1839, that state aid from the Board of Directors partially recognising the principle of state management was forthcoming. A museum on economic geology with a view to further the exploitation of the mineral resources of the

country was established later, thereby recognising the fact that museums are of prime necessity in any planning for the industrial reconstruction of the country In Madras, efforts were being made since 1819, to establish a museum which was actually accomplished in 1846, and was formally opened in 1851. In 1856 six branch museums were established. The *Karachi Museum* was opened in 1851 by Sir Bartle Frere; and the first medical museum was started by the *Grant Medical College* of Bombay. The second half of the 19th century saw a number of new museums established at Lucknow and Nagpur (1863), Lahore (1864), Jaipur (1887), Rajkot (1888), *Rea Industrial Museum* at Delhi (1868), *Economic Museum* at Calcutta (1872), Muttra (1874), Raipur (1875), Trichur, Udaipur, Bhopal, Jaipur (1887) Rajkot (1888), *Rea Industrial Museum* at Poona (1889), Baroda and Bezwada (1889).

The arrival of Lord Curzon as the Viceroy of India, and his selection of Dr. (Later Sir) John Marshall, as the Director-General of Archaeology in India, marked the dawn of a new epoch in the history of museums in India. Dr. Marshall, a don of Oxford, and fresh from his experience in Greece, was eminently suited for the task on hand. Greece and Rome with their ancient heritage, continued devastations and inaccessibility of regions, offer in many respects, good parallels to India. The consequence of these two events have already been referred to by Messrs. Markham and Hargreaves. The causes of the origin and development of museums in India may be summarised below. They originated out of a desire on the part of officials to appreciate the ancient remains, the mute testimonies of the past and desire for proper exhibition and explanation of the 'curios.' The second factor was the desire for economic exploitation of the country. Thirdly, the great native princes, realising the interest that the officials of the sovereign power were taking in museums and

scientific studies, tried to emulate their example, for being regarded as progressives. Fourthly, the local museums were established at the places of excavation to facilitate the study of the exhibits with reference to their evnionmetns. But before the 20th century there has not been a single institution which was founded by public enterprise.

Public Response in India and elsewhere

The first museum established with public help is the *Prince of Wales Mesuem*, Bombay; then came the *Patna Museum* in Bihar; *Dacca Museum* in Bengal; the *Museum of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, Calcutta; *Varendra Research Society's Museum*, Rajsahi; *Bhārata Kalā Bhavana*, Benares; and *Ashutosh Museum*, Calcutta University. The foundation of the *Museums Association of India* during the session of the Oriental Conference at Benares, has provided a common meeting ground for the representatives of various museums for exchanging views.

The greatest drawback of our national character is that for every form of national activity and for its maintenance, we look to the government for leadership and maintenance. The members of public, interested in museology, have failed to assert their views. In England most of the institutions depend on public support and private benefactions. But such is not the case in India. It is hoped that with the attainment of freedom our people will be in a position to realise their responsibility towards museums. To give two instances: on the 27th October, 1930, *The Times* announced the establishment of the *Courtauld Institute of Art* named after Mr. Samuel Courtauld who had undertaken the cost of building and equipping the institute. Sir Joseph Duveen promised £ 20,000. Lord Fareham of Lee promised to bequeath his priceless collection, should the institute function successfully. The Wyndham Galleries at the *Somerset County Museum,*

Taunton Castle was given to the *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society* by Mr. William Wyndham. Apart from these he gave munificent donations to the development and special purposes fund.[1]

The financial position of the *Dacca Museum*, which is probably one of the oldest institutions of its kind in old Bengal, for want of beneficiaries from the non-official public, is too illuminating to require comment. Here it is, that attention of the rulers and leaders of pubilc school of thought should be drawn. Those who can command must do so, those who can persuade, should utilise their rare powers.

The first great need of museum movement in this country, therefore, is planning on population basis. The Markham report has pointed to this lack of planning museums on population basis. " But in neither British India nor the Indian States have museums been distributed in a rational manner—some of the smaller towns such as Dehra-Dun, have museums of which any great city would be proud, whilst populous centres such as Ahmedabad and Amritsar have no museums at all."[2] The same report declared that fifteen towns with 1,00,000 population do not have museums.[3]

The museums in Calcutta and Bombay have seldom been planned to represent the cultural and economic growth of the city through centuries. They are generally museums of Art, Archaeology, and Ethnology—terms whose elasticity has no bounds. The museum collections are seldom representative of the city's industrial and commercial growth like that of Eskiltuna. Take a modern town like Bombay or Calcutta, the history of their phenomenal rise from mud flats and islands to populous cities of the

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[1] *Museums Journal*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 385.

[2] Markham and Hargreaves— *The Museums of India*, p.3.

[3] *Ibid*, p.8.

world has been neglected. Few citizens know even the names of the original villages which constitute modern Calcutta and Bombay. The financial backwardness of the Indian Museums cannot be overemphasised. Ceylon, with its total population of 5,000,000 spends £ 7,000 (Rs 1,00,000) on museums. In British Malaya, about £ 9,000 is spent and Java spends about £ 25,000. Whereas, in India with a population of 353000000 the total expenditure does not exceed Rs. 6,84,000.[4] Even this meagre finance is provided by the Government and modern states. There is the want of an enlightened public support and well balanced leadership from the rulers and the rich. There has been absolutely no effort to exploit all possibilities. To point out one instance, the crying need of Eastern U. P. is a local museum for cultural and economical development of these backward areas. Whether we look to Archaeology or Zoology, Botany or Industry, there is absolutely no precise information about these territories. But till 1945, there had been no effort. Yet this territory is washed by the Ganges and Ghagra, has the the birth place, the scene of *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha. It has Piprawa, Johorganj (sic Zahurganj) Kathot, Khaira, Bhulia, Dominagarh to point out a few. There has been absolutely no public conciousness about these. No endeavour has been made to tap the resources other than those of the Government, such as gifts and municipal grants. To implement the meagre finances of Indian Museums statutory taxes for museums should be provided as in America. Portions of terminal taxes could also be utilised for this. Many States in U.S.A. have fruitfully utilised these methods[5] for increasing the financial resources of the museums.

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[4] L. V. Coleman—*The Museums in America*, New York, 1939, Part I.

[5] Quoted in *Museums Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 6.

A Modern Museum Defined

A museum, in modern sense of the term, is not an institution, remote, incomprehensible or comatose but a living institution, stimulating and inspiring. Men of different faiths have realised the value of museums as centres of education. Karl Marx, saw in it a means to achieve his class revolution, 'the knowledge of the world in order to change it' (Karl Marx—These Fuerbach)[6]. In an article contributed on the museums of U.S.S.R. in the 'Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries' it is stated that "The museums, the treasuries of innumerable monuments of material culture representing the labours of hundreds of thousands of generations, from the primitive man to the builders of socialism, were recognised as possessing that dynamic energy, capable of attaining the revolutionary objective."[7] Lenin, who devastated more than all the museums in the world could contain in one of the largest areas on earth, had also to recognise the justification of this bourgoise creation.[8] In the capitalistic countries, a modern museum constitutes a national service, the aims of which are twofold namely recreational and inspirational. They are the greatest aids to research and enquiry, here no longer 'cabinets de curiosite' are exhibited in majestic isolation, but as cultural representatives of the cycles of human experience.

In India, the museums are generally misunderstood as they are supposed to concern with Art and Archaeology and Natural history only. Whereas in other countries,

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[6] *I bid*, pp. 87-88.

[7] *Museum Journal* Vol. XXXVI, p. 6.

[8] "Without a clear understanding that only through a precise knowledge of the culture created by the whole evolution of mankind, only through its proper assimilation, is it posible to build up a proletarian culture, without such an understanding we connot solve the problem" *Lenin's Collected Works*, Russian ed, Vol. XXX, p. 406.

museums representing every phase of human activity have been established. Few of these are : the Science Museum at Munich, founded by Oscar Von Miller;[9] the various science Museums in U.S.A. ; Art Museums, Industries Museums, Military Museums and Regimental Museums, History, Geography, Agricultural, College and School or Children's Museums; whose duties are to interpret and exhibit well established facts of science. Pioneers in this respect are the South Kensington Museum, and the Munich Industrial Museum. They are centres for the cultivation of public taste and popular knowledge. A modern museum is not merely an accumulation of treasures but it presents its accumulated materials in a way so as to illuminate facts of various sciences by demonstrations, by working models, by diagrams, dioromas, mural paintings, in fact, by all the aids it can summon for their proper appreciation. Not mere statues or sculptures, standing against white walls, with levels containing pithy sentences, taking it for granted, that the visitor is capable of imagining the rest to construct the whole scene. Unfortunately, however, the museum technique has not made such a progress as to achieve this state in this country.

The aims and objects of museums have been very correctly defined by M. Jean Capart.[10] The museums of to-day, have transformed themselves, from the purposeless jumble hoards of previous centuries, to scientific institutions of the first magnitude, by the systematic, logical, and

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[9] Oscar Von Miller nach eigenen Aufzeichi etc. A. G. 1932.

[10] Just as the sea scatters on its shores some of the remains of life hidden in its depth, in the form of innumerable shells, so the waves of human history, in their tidal movements leave relics which I should be tempted to call human fossils. Museums of art and history are built to preserve such human fossils. We must be very careful not to infer that such relics remain there as lifeless, soulless objects. The time is long past for collections termed 'cabinets de curiosit.' Chairman's speech at Brussels Conference. *Museums Journal*, Vol. XXXV, p. 219.

well balanced exposition of their contents. The basic principle of museology lays stress on the proper use of museum material and advancement of knowledge. A museum which has been built up with a definite scope and objective, can be of greater service with a small collection, than a huge collection in a rambling hall, haphazardly arranged.

The Building

The first necessity of a modern museum is its building. Our museum sense generally remains contented on old discarded structures such as an ornate guest house, an old Durbar hall, or a College building, for housing and display of collections that are really valuable. At the very commencement, it is indeed necessary that a museum should have a building so that the planning of the permanent structure could be made with a view to all its needs. "To spend space and money on monumental halls which are unuseable, staircases which no one mounts and solid partitions which have no structural necessity—in fact to build an old house when a new one is indicated, is not to have learned what is required and to have missed the obvious lessons of museum experience." About Indian Museums, Messrs Markham and Hargreaves were constrained to point out. "To summarise, from Bombay to Rangoon, from Peshawar to Trichinopoly, India has few ideal museum buildings—few cool spacious inviting temples of muses such as one sees in many American and European cities. From the outward point of view, few of them can compare architecturally with any, and foremost amongst those of beauty and design are those at Dehra Dun and Taxila. Taxila, this former city of King Taxiles, who was the active ally of Alexander of Macedon, that Macedon, that once held a million souls and was the centre of Greco-Budhist learning and culture, has now one of the most attractively built

and charming museums in India, fashioned after a Budhist monastery. It needed the inspiration of a poet to produce a museum worthy of such treasures as are here and with them something of the tramp of the legions and the culture of long past ages. Sarnath, too, has an attractive and appropriate building."[11] It would be hard to think from this that India lacks in good buildings totally. But the pre-requisite of a museum building is not understood. It is neither a city hall, nor a set of assembly rooms, nor a church, nor a temple but a museum planned, designed and erected for one set purpose.

The question of building brings us to two most important factors. First of this is lighting. India with its excessive sunshine, requires control of this, just as the ancient Indians, did with their spacious *chaitya* halls or the sanctums of their temples, which even now, impart a sense of mystic aloofness, in that solitary gloom, to the presiding divinity, even in the brightest day; while any one, who has entered them, knows how cool and pleasant they are, on a hot summe day, when a burning sun was scorching the outer world. In this instance, the ancient Iranian buildings, can give us very valuable help. Because, the comfort of a visitor is intimately associated, with his ability to appreciate the exhibits. In this respect, the *Sarnath Museum*, one of the largest of the local museums, fashioned after a Buddhist monastery, that existed in the Ganges Valley, suffers from extra heat. In addition to this inconvenience—the light from the clerestory windows, falling on the table cases, make the exhibits hazy, which can be nullified by curtains. The next point is the location. It should not only be centraly situated (if in a town), easily accessible, and free from vulgar attention, which is such a nuisance at otherwise charming places like Sarnath.

[11] Markham and Hargreaves— *The Museums of India*, p. 21.

The museums are not public amusement places, and their character in this respect should not be impaired. This a trust, which the management holds for posterity; and the trustees have no right to fritter away their trusts, they can augment but not barter.

Arrangement

The principal function of a museum is the arrangement of its collection. The museums for the public are pivoted on exhibition. The arrangement has an objective. That aim is first to indicate the purpose and character of the museum; secondly the cultivation of public taste. A large museum in fact is an encyclopedia. In an encyclopedia we get informations in a well ordered and systematic manner, authoritative as well as sufficient and well balanced. In the same manner collections in a museum has to be arranged with a view to diffuse knowledge, so that a visitor instead of remaining perplexed, by entering the main hall will have in the first place an idea about the scope of the collection, secondly will be able to garner sound information, without having to bother, or even to open a leaf of a printed book, should he choose to do so. That is the undying soul of museum technique. In the third place, the arrangement, should always make allowances for future developments. Fourthly, even in static collections, the galleries should not be overcrowded, as is the case with Sarnath, Muttra and so many other places. A visitor must not be overstrained, fatigued, his spirit must be carefully nursed. Too many specimens without any considerations of visual relations disturb him more, and prevent him from giving proper attention to deserving exhibits. Even in static collection, periodical changes would rouse zest, interest in the institution, should contribute to better appreciation. These changes can be announced through news-papers.

The arrangement should have a practical basis; and imagination should not be allowed to have free play. " The museum has no need to suggest that which is not a fact, it has not to insinuate the palace or church, nor suggest the temple or shrine. A museum is different from all these and its peculiar to itself. It can deduce from the object much that neither the artists nor his time could have dreamed of. It is environed by its own emotional atmosphere. . . . . . The sense of the selection involved in gathering the objects displayed, the care bestowed on them, their logical ordering, intimating to the beholder the organic growth of art, the scientific work involved herein, the dignity and harmony of exhibition, the service to the public, these are all forces that stimulate the emotions, without the help of expedients, which may throw doubt, however slight on the aesthetic efficacy of the objects themselves." [12]

Display

If arrangement is the principal factor in museum technique, display is its fundamental function. For success in display, some artistic sense and scientific acumen are necessary. In this respect research in India is at standstill, as a result of which we have become out of date. Horoizontal boards, or at the greatest, plate glasses are invariable sights in Indian Museums. More than that, when the uses of large sized plate glasses, to facilitate visual studies, have become universal practice, it is not unusual to find the obsolete method of small panes being used. It is true of course, that in the Folk Museums of Scandinavia, ordinary glasses have been used, with considerable success, but the purpose of these museums differs considerably from ours.[13] In exhibition, we need not hesi-

[1] Prtichard in his communications to the Boston Trustees. Quoted by I. V. Coleman— *The Museums in America*, Vol. I. pp. 269-70.

tate to emulate the example of shop-dressers. The purpose of a museum and shop display is almost the same. While the end of the shopkeeper is undoubtedly materialistic, the objective in a museum is emotional. Many Curators fear a loss of purpose and dignity, if shopping models are followed, but, it is the principle of rousing interests and creating aesthetics in display, that are involved. We should not be prude enough to reject ideas-though extremes are undesirable.[14] The invariable method of display of textiles in India, is to pass a horizontal bar through them either in a table case or on the wall. Here, a little originality in display and thoughtfulness, will alleviate the boring monotony, create effect as well as indirectly help in appreciation. The visitors attention will be more drawn to them, instead of creating a feeling of repulsion, born out of monotony.

I may be allowed to explain our point by another example; the overcrowded art section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta; a picture of which appears in the *Museums of India*, p. 43. The first impression is a sea of cases, with a mass of images of all conceivable sizes, arranged without any purpose or aim. An objective was undoubtedly there, but the methods by which the Curator tried to attain it, were at least a century old. We have however different methods employed in the Liverpool Public Museums, with results of a charming nature. The methods were very simple—using plywood cubes of various sizes with coloured papers, and there was scheme and desire to create an effect. To quote Mr. Trevor Thomas :

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[2] *Museums Journal*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 469-92; C. E. Freeman-Museum Methods in Norway and Swedan.

[3] *Selling Through the Window*, The Studio Ltd., New-York 1935. This is a book written by experts, which no museum Curator can neglect. But unfortunately it is seldom available in any Indian Library. The lessons that men of another professions are expected to learn can well be followed by Indian Museums, without any loss in the character of their institutions.

" The completed effect of the reconditioned gallery has been to produce a room with an unified atmosphere, cool with general scheme of greys set against the lime green walls of the room."[15] Sometimes, an original mind can create diversions of a novel kind. The Buffalo Museum of Natural History (U.S.A.), adopted the method of displaying fish, by the use of rubber suction pads and by adhesives. The front of the case contained a large aperture and by aid of top lightning, the natural impression of fish seen below water was created.[16] The Royal Ontario Museum of Geology, exhibited a model of an oil field in Texas, showing the surface instalments and the geological formations below the soil. The oil sand being coloured black.[17] How one such model, showing coal deposits in Bihar, or oil deposits in Assam, will contribute towards public enlightenment?

Reserve collections

The museum arrangement has a dual significance. The exhibits for the larger public are generally placed in the galleries; while a reserve collection is maintained for study by experts, research students, and scholars. The principle was recognized as early as 1898 by Flower.[18] Even small museums have these two dual purposes to serve. The psychology behind the proposal is quite evident. It is not sufficient to make the museum a mere series of exhibition halls. They must be prepared to meet the needs of the experts too, and the requirements of these two classes are different. To cater to the public, is to starve the scholar and the students. To expect the public to enjoy with the experts, specialists, and even amatures is to invite them in a feast, like the stork who asked the

[4] *Museums Journal*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 221-25, pt. XVI.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[6] *Ibid.*, pt. XIX.
[7] *Flower-Essays* on Museums, 1898.

jackal to dinner, and placed before him venison in a long necked short mouthed amphora. as narrated in *Aesops Fables*. The needs are quite distinct; and thoughtful planning and installation of collection is essential, for the ordinary visitor to be different from the arrangement of the material for the more advanced people. Next point to be remembered is that, the study or the reserve collection need not be open to ordinary visitors. For this reason, the arrangement at Boston, which was considered ideal have been criticised by L. V. Coleman.[19] According to him the modified Munich scheme as enunciated by Mr. Fiske Kimball seems to be more appropriate,[20] but only wealthy institutions can carry out such costly schemes; with the result that small institutions with slender purses are left uncomprehending. In India, the material for study collections are abundant in almost all the museums such as Sarnath, Lucknow, Muttra, Madras, and Indian Museum, Calcutta. Due however to a tendency to overcrowd the galleries, the study collections are seldom thought of. In my Post-Graduate days in Calcutta, and after that till 1937, I never met with any arrangement, accessible to scholars, which can be denominated reserve collection. If mere, unsystematic stacking in under ground cellars, to which the advanced students had no access, or keeping them on concrete shelves, beside a restaurant, has to be regarded as study collection, then we have to change the defination of the term. The concept of the study or the reserve collection is different

Labelling and other aids

Labelling is an art as well as a science. Its purpose being to convey information as precisely and as briefly as

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[8] L. V. Coleman— *The Museums in America*. Pt. II, pp. 251-52.

[9] Ibid, pp. 153-54; Pennysylvania Museum Bulletin, November, 1934.

possible. It is an art, because certain amount of taste, knowledge of colour scheme, harmony and balance, are essential. Unsightly label is a discordant element in the arrangement, and may ruin an otherwise successful display. It is a science, because it follows certain well established practices and formulae. The contents must be simple and direct. At Sarnath, the method followed is bilingual though the present writer made attempts to make it trilingual as a consideration to a great minority community. The aim was to appeal to a larger number. The material is good teak planks cut to the required sizes, planed and sand-papered. The past practice was to apply Black Japan, but experience shows that, when this solution is exposed continually to the tropical sun, as in the verandahs, the glaze disappears within a couple of months, and it commences to peel off within a year. An experiment was made, with French polish mixed with lamp black. So far, it has stood the sun without any remarkable change. A further period must elapse before we can consider the experiment to be successful. The letters must necessarily be of large size and prominent, and should be so placed so as not to strain the eyes of the visitors. For this reason we have followed three methods: First, the wall of the platforms or free pedestals, where the light is greatest. Secondly, on antiquities displayed on walls almost on the eye level. Those antiquities which have been displayed on running platforms have their labels at their foot on trapeze shapped pieces. A greater effect could be created, if on free pedestals of Gaya sand (a kind of white sand), we use light buff colour for the labels with letterings in deep brown. This would have the effect of almost effacing the labels, while brown letters will be read conveniently as if embossed on surrounding buff mass. Merely a question of optical illusion—but pleasant at that instead of monotonous black labels.

The labels being brief we might follow the suit of the American museums by providing *Looseleaf Guides* for the most remarkable specimens in a room, alcove or gallery. For example the Parkham, the Maholi image, the Baroda or the *Yupa* in the Muttra Museum, the Lion Capital, the Bala image and the preaching Buddha at Sarnath. These loose-leaf guides will contain fuller details, with notes on historical, technical and stylistical contents, of a specimen for people who will look long and stay long; for people who will want to remember and compare notes later on. About these Laurance Vail Coleman says " These loose leafed, mimeographed, note books, devoting a page to each important object in the room are for use of people taking time to enjoy and learn about individual pieces. They are not texts of art and history but intimate introductions to the exhibits."[21] In addition to these there might be short Guides with a price that can reach every pocket. It should contain a general and historical introductions with a brief, very brief at that, reference to the most remarkable exhibits. Such a work was '*A Short Guide to the Indian Museum* and *Guides* to the Brahminical and Buddhist Section of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, prepared by G. V. Acharya. Even if they were not the ideal, to be followed at all times, they were remarkable for a stage of excellence reached in India. Next comes *Handbooks*. In this category falls the *Guide to Sarnath* by B. Majumadar published by the Archaeolo-

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[10] L. V. Coleman—*The Museums in America*, part II, pp. 275-76.

" The same method is followed in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem." Owing to the legal necessity of providing information to the public in three languages, English, Arabic and Hebrew, it was at once clear that anything like adequate labels in the cases would leave no room for the objects. So it was decided to adopt 'gallery-books', i.e. a numbered list of antiquities on exhibition, with a brief description of each, its provenance and dates and few general notes. *Museums Journal* Vol. XXXVIII, pp.

gical Department. The treatment of both are different. Sir John Marshall is remarkable for felicity of expression in pithy sentences, concerning himself with evolution in style and archaeological contexts; while Mr. Majumadar is addicted to Jhonsonianism. None of the books so far published have reached such a high stage of excellence. Mr. Majumadar's work has however one great defect. Guides should be written in simple language. Because; an ordinary visitor, will soon tire of words with which he is not familiar. Therefore we are faced with the necessity of providing simple, smaller guide book for people who will not stay long and look long.

It is often forgotten by the authorities of the Indian Museums that, Catalogues are of prime necessity in Museum studies. Yet, the principal museums of India, like the *Indian Museum*, Calcutta; *Provincial Museum*, Lucknow; *Curzon Museum of Archaeology*, Muttra; *Central Museum*, Lahore; *Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay; have none except antiquated ones. A catalogue for the Lucknow Museum was prepared by the late R. D. Banerji as early as 1906,[22] but except a list of Inscriptions by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, no other publications are available. Nevertheless, the overriding necessity amongst the museum authorities in India is to appreciate the facilities offered by the modern printing methods, suitability of types for vision, nature, quality and usefulness of various types of reproductions such as the offset, linecuts, half tone processes. Much good material is ruined by bad reproductions, thereby the author, the publishers and the museum authorities, tend to loose esteem of progressive people.

[11] By 1949 this too must have become out of date.

SHORT NOTES

PURĀṆAS SHED NEW LIGHT ON GUPTA HISTORY

By DASHARATHA SHARMA

RIGHTLY interpreted, the Purāṇas can even now shed new light not merely on the cultural but also the political history of the Gupta period. We need not trace up any new texts for the purpose, nor need we imagine the existence of texts now no longer extant. We have just to take the texts as they stand, and give them their literal meaning, laying aside, no doubt, all preconceived notions and partiality for the interpretations that have so far held the field.

The particular passage pertaining to Gupta history that I wish to refer to runs as follows in all the copies of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* consulted by Dr. D. C. Ganguly at Dacca:

1. *Anugaṅgaṁ Prayāgañca Māgadhā Guptāśca Magadhān bhokṣyanti.*
2. *Kośal-Oḍra-Puṇḍra-Tāmraliptān samudrataṭa-Purīñca Devarakṣito rakṣiṣyati.*
3. i *Kaliṅgaṁ Māhiṣakaṁ Mahendro.*
4. *bhaumān Guhāṁ bhokṣyanti.*

The first three lines may be translated,

" The Guptas of Magadha would rule over Magadha and the territories along the Ganges up to Prayāga. Devarakṣita would protect Kośala, Oḍra, Tāmra-

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*Read before the first meeting of the Hindu College Historical Society, Delhi.

lipta and Purı on the sea-board, and similarly M a h e n d r a, Māhiṣaka and Kaliṅga."

The reading of the fourth line is extremely corrupt. Its meaning, however, is made clear by the parallel passage of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which reads,

" *etān janapadān sarvān pālayiṣyati vai Guhaḥ.*" [1]

i.e. Guha would have all these territories under his protection.

Is it not a matter of some surprise that historians have not so far paid any attention to the continuous line of succession presented by the names Devarakṣita, Mahendra and Guha? Devarakṣita, obviously, is Devagupta or Candragupta II, *rakṣita* being a mere substitute for the more usual word, " gupta." Devagupta, as a name of Candragupta II, is known to us from the inscriptions of Prabhāvatīgupta and her son, Pravarasena II.[2] The Sānchī inscription calls him Devarāja.[3] Mahendra is Candragupta II's son and successor, Mahendra Kumāragupta I. Almost every type of his coins mentions him as Mahendra, the title being probably assumed, as suggested by one of his coin legends, "*Aśvamedha-Mahendraḥ*," in commemoration of the horse-sacrifice or perhaps a number of horse-sacrifices that he may have performed.[4] Guha, the next ruler mentioned in the passage quoted above, is Kumaragupta II's successor Skanda or Skandagupta, Guha being merely a synonym of Skanda. Initial

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[1] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 54.

[2] See *EI*, XV, 30; *JASB*, XX, 56; *EI*, XXII, 170ff. etc.

[3] *CII*, III, 29.

[4] *Aśvamedha-Mahendraḥ*—one who achieves the status of Mahendra by his *aśvamedhas*. Indra is popularly known as Śatakratu. Ever afraid of his dignity as Indra being wrested by one who performs a hundred sacrifices, he is represented in Paurāṇic mythology as throwing some obstacle or other in the way of one performing his hundredth sacrifice. See for instance the stories of Sagara in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and Dilīpa in the *Raghuvaṁśa*.

letters in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* have been made to yield the names that they stand for; but none has given Devarakṣita, Mahendra, and Guha even the literal meanings that they have.

It is by no mere chance that the names of these rulers have been placed in this correct order by the Purāṇas, which give not merely the correct Gupta line of succession but also a good idea of Gupta imperial expansion. Magadha, with the territory along the Ganges, was under their direct rule; they enjoyed it,[5] it was their *svabhoga*. To the other territories they gradually extended their protection. They were not directly enjoyed; they were protected, their rulers being allowed to continue in their possession on the acknowledgement of supremacy and payment of tribute.[6]

Samudragupta followed two different policies towards his contemporaries. He forcibly extirpated the rulers of the north. But he captured, liberated and reinstated the rulers of Kośala, Mahākāntāra, Kaurala, Koṭṭura, Piṣṭapura, Eraṇḍapalla, Kāñcī, Avamuktaka Vengī, Pālakka, Devarāṣṭra and Kusthalapura, knowing that it would not be easy to control them from a distant capital like Pāṭaliputra.[7] Candragupta II's policy was an extension of his father's. As described in our Paurāṇika passage, Devarakṣita, i.e. Candragupta II, "protected" Kośala (modern Bilāspur, Rāipur and Sambalpur districts), Oḍra (Northern Orissa), Puṇḍra (Northern Bengal), Tāmralipti (Tamlūk) and Purī on the sea coast,

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5 Mark the use of the root "bhuj" for these territories. For others the root used is "pa," to protect.

6 Skandagupta is called "*kṣitipaśatapati*" in the Kahauṁ stone pillar inscription. If hundreds of rulers could be allowed to enjoy their territories, Candragupta II, Kumaragupta I and Skandagupta could not have followed the policy of out-right annexation applied to the northern rulers by Samudragupta.

7 See the Allahabad *praśasti, CII*, III, p. 6ff.

i.e. Jagannātha-Purī. In other words, besides governing directly the territories bequeathed to him by Samudragupta, he rendered tributary to himself, i.e., brought under greater imperial control, though not under direct rule, the territories just mentioned. As lands adjoining the Gupta empire they were bound to be the first to feel the force of her expanding energy. Samudragupta had let them off with the payment, most probably, of costly presents for once; Candragupta rendered them definitely dependent. It was only on account of this southern extension that the writer of the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription could rightly boast that even " the southern ocean bore till then the fragrance carried by the breeze of his prowess." [8]

The next round of expansion followed in the reign of Mahendra, i.e., Mahendra Kumāragupta. Kaliṅga and Māhiṣaka adjoined the territories " protected " in Candragupta II's reign. It is therefore only natural that Gupta imperial protection should have been extended to them in the reign of Candragupta II's son and successor Mahendra.

This was the greatest expanse of the Gupta dominions. It was an achievement enough for any ruler to keep these intact in a single empire; and this was what Skandagupta actually did in spite of all troubles, internal as well as external. Hence the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is right in stating that Guha, i.e. Skandagupta would protect all these countries, Etān janapadān Sarvān pālayiṣyati Vai Guhaḥ.

[8] *Yasyādyapyadhivāsyate jalanidhirvīryānilair-dakṣiṇaḥ*, verse two of the inscription.

We know from Candragupta II's coins that he conquered also the dominions of the Western Śaka Satraps. But of this the Purāṇas do not appear to have preserved any record.

The conquest of Puṇḍra is also probably referred to in the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription.

The Paurāṇika account closes with Skandagupta's reign. It has nothing to say about the Gupta empire in its years of decay and degeneration, though what actually happened on the cultural plane, when India temporarily lay prostrate before barbaric invaders, is indicated by a number of verses describing the evils of the Kali Age.[9]

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[9] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 55.

A SHORT NOTE ON THE PRINCIPLES OF TAXATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Radhakrishna Chaudhary

The function of the government cannot be performed without incurring considerable expenditure. Tax is a necessity of the State. The State is maintained by finance.[1] According to Kauṭilya, finance is the basis of all activity (of the State).[2] In the early period of the society, taxation was a sort of voluntary subscription towards the State, but with the growth of administrative machinery, it was transferred into compulsory contribution.[3]

Manu lays down the positive injunctions that tax must be levied according to the Śāstra or Law . . . . " the King should take tax every year according to Śāstra or Law."[4] But the king had not the sole prerogative to impose taxes. He must consult the representatives of the people and he , " in conjunction with the assembly, after full consideration, so levy taxes in his dominions that they may conduce to the happiness of both the rulers and the ruled."[5] The generally accepted principle was that taxes should be levied after a consideration of the income and expenditure of the people. Gautama asserts that a subject is bound to pay revenue to his king and supplements his statement by saying, " Inasmuch as a king

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[1] *Sāntiparva*, 133.

[2] *Arthaśāstra*, p. 73, 394.

[3] P. N. Banerjee, "*Public Administration in Ancient India*" p. 173.

[4] *Manu* IX, 119.

[5] *Ibid, VII.*, 128-129.

[6] *Gautam*, X., 678 (Datta's Translation) —*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 2, p. 230.

endures the safe possession of all these things (of cultivators and traders).[6] " Gautama is supported by Manu in his saying—" Tax should be levied (by the king) having protected the people with weapons."[7] The king should imperceptibly realise tax from the people without harming them in the least. The highest duty of the king is to promote the happiness of the people. Revenue must be collected through honourable and accomplished men possessed of high and excellent character. While discharging the duties of the State, the king, the president of the assembly, his ministers and officials must observe the eternal principles as taught in the Vedas. "Let them act like fathers to the people." [8] In order to have a sound basis of taxation Manu fixes the rate as follows:—Let the king take from traded people and artisan one-fifteenth part of their profit in silver and gold, one-sixth, one-eighth, or one-twelvth of agricultural produce such as rice.[9] According to Gautama cultivators must pay to king a tax amounting to one-tenth, one-eighth or one-sixth of the produce. According to Baudhāyana, the king should receive one-sixth as his pay from the subjects. The king must be considerate in his behaviour to the people. If he takes it in cash instead of kind, there too, let him take it in such a way that the people would not suffer from poverty or from want of necessities of life, such as food, drink and so on. The ancient thinkers were altruistic in their thoughts and feelings.

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[7] *Manu* IX. 119.

[8] *Ibid* VII. 79, 80.

[9] *Manu* VII. 130—The amount depends on the nature of soil and manner of cultivation.

THE VIEWS OF SCHOLARS REGARDING THE VEDAS

The unjustified deductions of Historians —4.

(Geography of places outside the Punjab in the Ṛgveda)

By GIRISH CHAND A AWASTHI

I have dwelt upon the contemporaneousness of the Vedas in my first article on the unjustified conclusions of European historians in my second and on the description of the ocean in the *Ṛgveda* in my third article.

In the present article I am dealing with the geography of places outside the Punjab. Historians assert that the Aryans came to the Punjab from Persia during the Ṛgvedic period, and therefore there is no mention of places outside the Punjab in the *Ṛgveda—Ṛcā* 8/3/24 contains the following : " Pakasthamanam bhojam." The adjective " Bhoja " is used for Pakasthama Raja. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* chapter 38 Part 3 has the following :... "Aitasyamadak sihnasyam dishiyekoha satwanam rajah bhaujya yaivate abhiṣicyante bhojetyanena bhiṣiktana cakṣata." This means :

"All those who are rajas of the satwatas in this southern direction are ordained for Bhaujya—these ordained rajas of the south should be called Bhoja." This proof from the *Aitareya* shows that the raja of the south is called Bhoja. The *Aitareya* is the Brāhmaṇa of the *Ṛgveda*. Thus the use of the adjective "Bhoja" for Pakasthama in the *Ṛgveda* shows him to be a raja of the south. Does the Deccan form part of the Punjab or is it west of the Punjab ? In *Ṛgveda* 8/5/37 there is a description of gifts by Caidyakahu. A raja of chedi is called chaidya—Was the Ċedi country a part of the Punjab?

The Cedi country extends from the Narwar district of the Gwalior State to the Narmada and also touches the Vatsa country. The seat of its King Siśupāla stands on the banks of the Betwa. The Narwar district and was known as Suktimatī—even now it is called Canderi. A thousand years ago it was known as Tripuri and is clearly mentioned under this name in old deeds of gift. Some lexicographers have given the name of Traipur to the Cedi country. This Tripuri is near Jubbulpore six miles to the South of the Narmada and is known as Tewar and was the home of the maternal ancestors of the famous Cauhan hero of India—Prithviraj. This is known from *Pṛthvirāja Digvijaya* and other books. In Ṛcā 7/18/6 the word matsyaḥ is used for the matsya country. Turvaś raja had harassed the Matsya country. Is not Matsya country which is to the south-west of Kurukṣetra outside the Punjab? In Richa 3/53/14 there is a description of the Kīkaṭa country—Kikaṭ is the name of Magadha as is acknowledged by all. In Richa 2/15/5 there is a description of the Mahí river, which flows from Rajputana to the Gujrat Sea and is known as Máhī. In *R*. 2/15/6 it is said that Indra made the Sindhu river flow towards the north. This kali Sindh flows in the Gwalior State from the south to the north. In R. 3/33/4 there is a description of Dṛṣadvatī river, Saraswatï river and Apaya river and the Manuṣtirth. All these are in Kurukṣetra as described in the Purāṇas. Some people take the Dṛṣadvatī to be the Khaggar. This is their misconception—the Khaggar is north of the Saraswati while the Dṛṣadvatī is south of the Saraswati Āpayā river is mentioned as the Apaga in the Purāṇas but the meaning of both terms is similar. Manuṣtirth is at a distance of two miles from the Apaga is Kurukṣetra itself. Kurukṣetra is outside the Punjab.. In *R* 4/30/18 there is mention of the name of the Sarayū river. This is a river of the United Provinces and falls

nto the Ganga near Ballia. Rather the river named Sarayū joins the Ghagra to the west of Ayodhyā and becoming known as Sarayū falls into the Ganga near Ballia. In *R*. 5/53/17 there is a description of the Yamunā river. Some European scholars take this to be the Rāvī but is it fair to take it to be the Ravi instead of the well-known Yamunā ? In *R*. 5/83/8 there is a prayer to Parjanya to lower the clouds and to cause such rainfall that the rivers might flow turning towards the east. How many rivers are there in the Punjab which flow towards the east ? And how many such rivers are there before the Punjab ? In *R*. 10/75/5 there is a description of the Ganga and Yamunā. Does the Ganga belong to the Punjab ? In *R*. 7/96/2 there is a description of Saraswatī river and it is stated in this description that it falls into the ocean. Some European scholars write: "The Harahwaiti river mentioned in the Avista is really the Saraswatī. S has been changed into h, just as Sindhu has changed to Hindu. It is natural for S to change into H in Persian." This river is known as the Armandab and is a tributary of the Kabul which falls into the Sindhu river. The Saraswatī river emerges in the hills from Palkṣa Praśravaṇa and disappears at Vinaśana and again appearing and disappearing Puṣkara and other places of pilgrimage ultimately falls into the ocean. This is mentioned in *R*. 7/96/7. Does the Argandab river fall into the ocean that it may be taken to be the Saraswatī ? Messrs Macdonell and Keith have clearly acknowledged in the Vedic Index that it is a river of the Kurukṣetra which flows into the ocean. The Purāṇas hold that it falls into the ocean near Somnath in Saurașṭra. The contentions that Sindhu has been changed into Hindu owing to S changing into h also does not hold water. The Chinese Traveller, Houen Tsang, gives the ancient name of Bharata as Indu. He takes Indu to mean the moon. Just as the moon gives peace and light

to the world, in the same way this country gives knowledge to the world and destroying ignorance in the heart gives light and peace. It is because of this that its name is Indu and it is clear that Indu has been changed into Hindu. The word Hindu is derived from the word Sindhu. It cannot be that the Sindh province is called Hindustan. This is the name of India. Therefore, it is not right to hold that Hindu comes from Indu. In the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* the Sindhu river is called Indumatī. It appears reasonable that the word Indus was derived from this Indumatī and India was derived from Indus and not from Sindhu. In *R*. 8/96/13 there is a description of the Asur Kṛṣṇa concealing himself in the Amśumatī river. In the book named *Bṛhaddevatā* from 6/918 to 925 there is a description of Soma concealing himself in the Amśumatī river in front of Kurudeśa. This Hastinapur, the capital of the Kauravas. This Kurudeśa is now the district of Meerut is still in existence in it under its old name. Meerut is in the United Provinces. In *R*. 8/20/25 and 10/75 we find the name of the Aśiknī river. It is written in *Nirukta* 9/26 that the water of Aśiknī is black. In the *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya* of Maharṣi Kātyāyana "Varnádánu dántán to padhatonah in 1/19 the word Aśiknī is derived from Asit and Asit is the name for black. The commentator of Nirukta, Durgacharya also holds the water of the Aśiknī to be black. European scholars take it to be the Chenab and advance the proofs proved by the Greek inhabitants in their support. But they have not written that this is the name of the Chenab. The water of the Chenab is white and not black. The Vedas are interpreted on the basis of the *Nirukta*, Brāhmaṇas and Śraut Sutras. Yáska is acknowledged as the most authoritative writer In *R*. 10/25/5 the Aśiknī wood is used with Yamunā. This cannot mean the Yamuna whose water is black. This must mean the Kali river of the United Provinces, which

falls into the Ganga near Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District. In *R*. 4/1/15 there is a description of Gomant hill. There is a detailed description of it in *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* and there is also a description of the defeat of the Raja of Magadha, Jarásandha by Bhagawān Śrī Kṛṣṇa-candra.

In the *Harivamśa*, it is stated to be in South India. This hill is in the eastern boundary of the North Kanara district, 30 miles to the south-east of Sirso town. It is to the South of Banbasi village of the Mysore State and is a peak of the Sahyadri (Western ghats). For further information on the subject please see the 8th part of the book named *Bhāratīya Anuśīlana*. Are all these in the Punjab or do they lie between Persia and in Punjab? In *R*. 10/137/2 there is a description of the eastern ocean. In *R*. 9/80/1 and 4/47/8 there is a description of the four oceans. All these oceans are outside the Punjab and the four oceans are mentioned as outside the Punjab and the four oceans are on the four sides of the earth.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE VYAKARAṆA MAHA BHAṢYA Part I. Anhikas, 1st to 4th of Patañjali with (1) *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa and (2) *Pradīpoddyotana* of Annambhaṭṭa. Edited by the late Professor P. P. S. Sastri, M.A. and Dr. A. Sankaran both Curators, Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and Professors of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras with an introduction by T. Chandrasekharan, M.A., Curator, Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Prepared under the orders of the Government of Madras. Printed by the Government Press, Madras. Introduction pages i to xiv and pp. 240. 1948. Price Rs. 20-12-0.

The *Mahā Bhāṣya* of Patañjali represents the third and last stage of the growth of classical Sanskrit Grammar begining with Pāṇini. " The style of his work is unparalleled in the whole range of Sanskrit [Śāstraic] literature only Saṅkara's *Bhāṣya* being worthy of a mention by its side." The spirit of independent thought combined with the great acumen and consummate scholarship which pervade the work of this admirable grammarian—to whom as far as our knowledge goes only one author of the later literature bears a comparison, namely, the Mīmāmsa philosopher Kumārila—could not allow him to become a mere paraphrase of another's words. The date of the *Mahā Bhāṣya* is now accepted at 150 B.C. and is a definite landmark in Indian chronology.

Such a great work has many commentaries some of them being unpublished even now; and that by Annaṁ Bhaṭṭa the author of the popular *Tarka Samgraha* is now edited for the first time. The publication of the work was

begun during the curatorship of Prof. P. P. S. Sastri 1936—1942. He had also got ready an English translation but in this he was anticipated by the Annamalai University publication of the lectures of Dr. P. S. Subramania Sastri on the 1st three Ānhikas. The present curator has added a valuable introduction which sets forth the date of Annaṁ Bhaṭṭa and also explains the merits which justify the present publication. The scholarly world is eagerly awaiting the completion of the work as this would enable a detailed comparison between the present work and that of Nageśa Bhaṭṭa. Annaṁ Bhatta is shown to have lived in the Telugu districts of South India in the 2nd half of the 17th century A.D. and Nageśa Bhaṭṭa in Northern India in the 1st half of the 18th century A.D. and hence the tradition of *Mahā Bhāṣya* studies as handed down in the north and south of India would be a very useful subject of study for scholars and students of research.

The Mahā-Bhāṣya has earned a saying, महाभाष्यं वा पठनीयम्; महाराज्यं वा डासप्रीयम् । India is attaining proficiency in the latter and regarding the former how many are there in India who have read the whole *Mahā Bhāṣya* and how many are able to teach the same to students. Excepting Mm. Vasudeva Sastri Abhyankar's translation into Marathi there is no other translation of it in any other Indian Language.

A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

ASIATIC JONES. The Life and influence of Sir William Jones (1746—1794) Pioneer of Indian Studies by A. J. Arberry Litt.D. Illustrated. Published for the British Council by Longmans Green and Co. Ltd., London pp. 40. first published 1946.

Sir William Jones came to India as the judge of the High Court of Bengal equipped as the preface states "with humility before the rich territory of Indian civilisation, art and philosophy which was in his day opening for the first time to the West; and he succeeded most completely in grasping the immense value of that territory of the human mind that is peculiar Indian civilisation." He will always be remembered in India as he was the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. That society paid its tribute by publishing a bicentanary birth commemoration volume in **1946** and intends to publish a variorum edition of the *Śākuntalaṁ* as the earliest English translation was by Sir William Jones in 1790. The observation of Jones that "no philologer could examine the languages of Sanskrit, Latin and Greek without believing them to have sprung from the same common source" contains the germs of the science of Comparative Philology and the conception of a family of languages in which all the individual languages and dialects are related and are descended from a common ancestor suggested the application to languages of the historical and comparative method of investigation. Again Sir W. Jones translated *Manu* and was instrumental in having Jagannatha's legal digest translated in English which was later finished by Colebrooke. It was no wonder that Sir W. Jones was recognised by that sagacious observer Dr. Johnson as "one of the most enlightened sons of men" (Johnson's Miscellany). Sir W Jones started the *Asiatic Researches* with a dissertation on the "orthography of Asiatic words" and publication of a text in Devanagari and a translation into English of the *Catu-Sūtrī Bhāgavatā* (Skanda 2 Adhyaya 10 Ślokas 32 to 35) and the *Mohamudgara* of Śaṅkara. Influence from the West is now on the wane as disclosed inter alia by the fact that not a single German scholar attended the latest conference of western indologists held recently in Paris;

India would always cherish the memory of Sir W. Jones and the surest way to repaying the debt due to the west would be the ability to foster the growth of Sanskrit Language and Literature and the ability to stand on its own legs in all branches of research in indology and also in its ability to impart the same to the rest of the world.

A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

A STUDY ON VĀSTUVIDYĀ OR CANONS OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE by Dr. Tarapada Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Litt. Assistant Professor of History, Bihar National College, Patna. Published by the author. 1948. Price Rs. 14. pages vii and 371.

The book is the fruit of the author's labour as the Research Scholar of the Government of Bengal during the years 1923—1926 when he worked under the late Askshya Kumar Mitra, C.I.E. and it was later accepted for the D. Litt. degree by the University of Calcutta in 1948. The author has traced the origin of Architecture from the Ṛgveda during the various periods of Hindu India. The Mānasāra regarded by Dr. Achrya as the source of all the works on Vastuvidya is now shown by the author to have belonged to the southern school and as a late compilation. The author shows that Vāstu Sāstra was inseparably connected with the political history of India.

It is a welcome sign of the times that students of Indian history are compelled to devote more time and attention to Architecture. The present author has written this useful work and its rich contents are worthy to be ranked with standard authors.

A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

Alamkara Samgraha of Amṛtānandayogin, Edited by Pandit V. Krishnamacharya and Pandit K. Ramachandra Sarma with an introduction by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Adyar Library Series no. 70. Pages xliii and p. 256. 1949. Price Rs. 9-0-0.

This work on poetics is now published in full in a critical edition for the first time. The whole work is in the form of 725 kārikās, like the works of Bhāmaha and Dandin, and 400 verses are given as illustrations of whom many could be traced to well known works. The first six chapters deal with Kāvyas and the remaining five with Nātakas. The author is shown to have lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. Dr. Kunhan Raja concludes his lengthy introduction by stating that it is very difficult to decide whether the author actually keeps up a tradition and how much of originality he has shown in writing the book. The publication of the work in very useful for writing a comprehensive history of poetics in Sanskrit Literature; and though a minor work in Alaṁkara Sāstra it is by works like these that the study of Alaṁkāra which attained the status and dignity of a Śāstra along with its philosophical compeers was actually kept up during the middle ages of India's history.

Development of Indian Railways by Nalinaksha Sanyal, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Transport, Department of Commerce, Calcutta University, Published by the University of Calcutta, 1930, pages xvi and 397. with maps and plates.

The book is a convenient text book for M.A. classes in Economics and the author has traced the interesting history of Indian railway development in several chapters as the introduction of railway, the old guarantee terms 1850—

1868, state construction and administration 1869—1882, revival of companies 1882—1902, policy of state and company agencies 1903—1930. A further chapter if added would bring the book down to the present day. The author concludes that in railways the people of India had a machine that had united them into a nation and now have an important factor in the maintenance of law and order and the domination of one country by another. The present nationalisation of all railways and conversion as a state department forms the best guarantee for efficient handling of Indias' vaied and intricate transport problems. The book secured the Ph.D. degree (Economics) of the University of London.